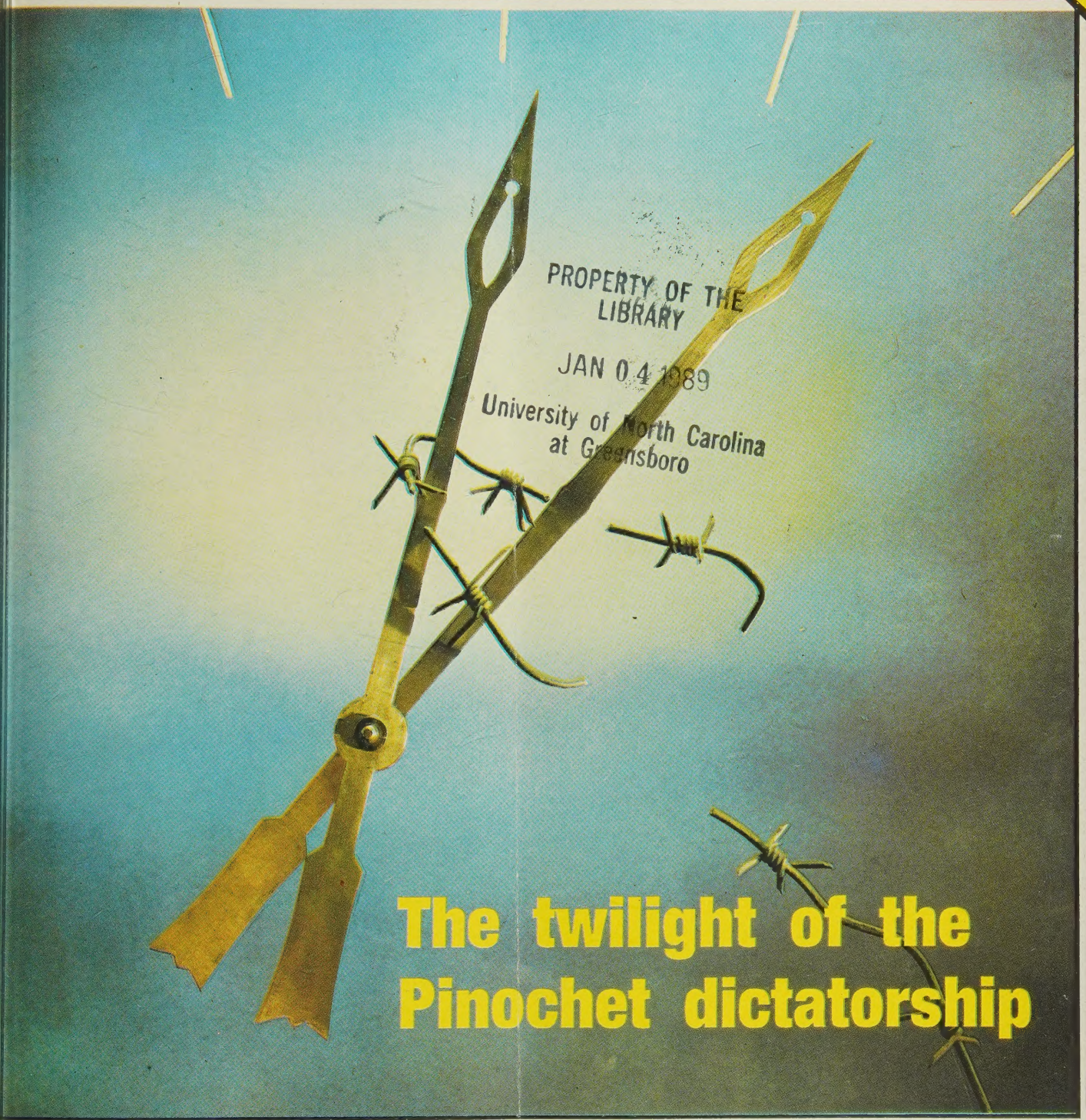
51

ECEMBER 1988

A SOVIET WEEKLY
F WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

A drama that lasted for 34 years



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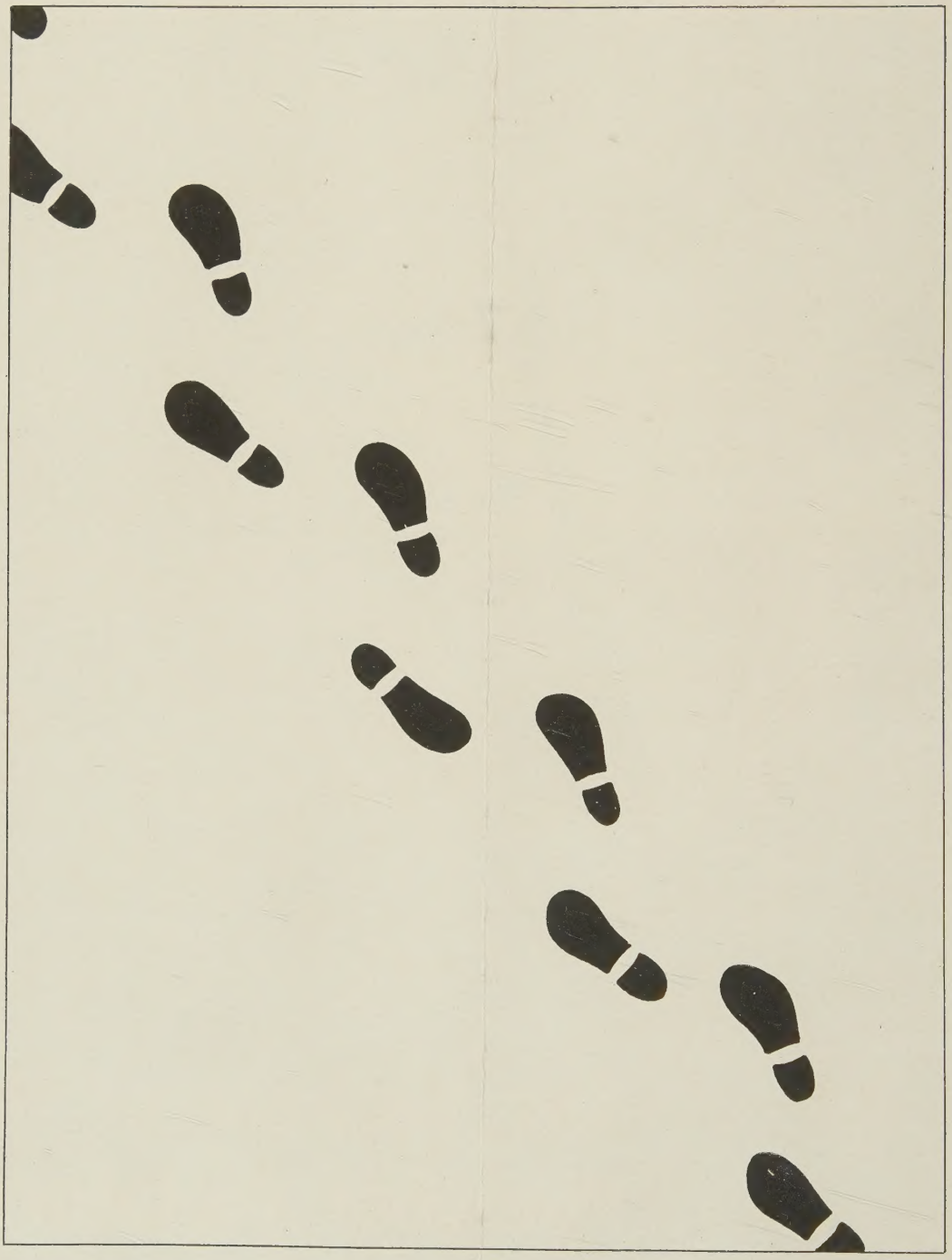
The twilight of the Pinochet dictatorship

SOCIOLOGY: MYTHS AND REALITY



Drawing by Alexander Mitnik

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Editor-in-Chief
VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate editors:
. ABRAMOV,
. BEZYMENSKY,
. CHERNYAVSKY,
. GANYUSHKIN,
. GOLYAKOV,
. KULISTIKOV,
. MLECHIN,
. PIN,
. POGORZHELSKY,
. PUMPYANSKY,
. SHEVCHENKO,
. STARSHINOV

Designer I. Shein

Acting Editor
of English edition:
. Agaltsev

The whole nation takes to heart the tragedy of Armenia which has aroused a tidal wave of sympathy the world over.
See reports from our special correspondents on p.4

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CONTENTS:

13
Observer's view
Lev Bezymensky
NEVER MIND REPROACHES...

14
Chile
Alexander Karmen
WHAT'S NEW IN SANTIAGO

17
F.R.G.
Nikita Zholkver
MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE

20
Observer's view
Dmitry Zgersky
TIME TO GO THE REST OF THE WAY

21
Australia
Sergei Golaykov
DOWN UNDER: AT THE CROSSROADS

25
Human rights
Sadruddin Aga-Khan:
I AM NO PROPHET

26
Observer's view
Igor Isayev
LET US POPULARIZE LEGAL KNOWLEDGE

27
Reflections
Gennady Batygin
SOCIOLOGY: MYTHS AND REALITY

31
Junior world
Simon Soloveichik
CHILDREN AND COMMANDMENTS

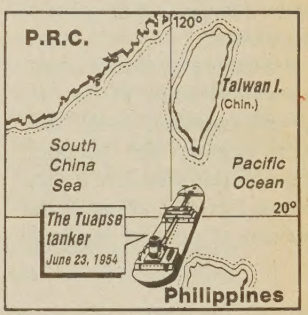
32
Hungary
Vladimir Gerasimov
BONDS, SHARES, STOCK EXCHANGE AND THE FORINT

34
G.D.R.
Anatoly Kovrigin
BERLIN: GLIMPSES OF PAST AND PRESENT

36
Poland
Wladyslaw Klaczynski
THE HARD ROAD TO UNITY

39
Female logic
Tatiana Ivanova
THE EPILOGUE TO THE ORDZHONIKIDZE HIJACK

40
Special feature
Irina Lagutina and Mikail Khrobostov
AN SOS THAT WENT UNHEEDED FOR 34 YEARS



44
Profile sketches

46
Culture
Sergei Toroptsev
XIAN HUMORISTS

48
Music
Erkin Tuzmukhamedov
THE GRAMOPHONE DISC A CENTURY OLD

Cover by
Igor Rogachevsky

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OPINIONS

An open letter from a group of Soviet citizens residing abroad
Berlin, G.D.R.

■ We Soviet citizens permanently resident in the German Democratic Republic read your magazine with great interest, hoping to find at least a grain of information about the political and legal aspects of the life of Soviet citizens resident abroad, mainly in the European socialist countries.

We have a lot of questions to ask. For instance, who will help us exercise one of the basic political rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution, namely, the right to elect people's deputies? In Berlin alone and its district there are about 4,000 Soviet people who, in spite of everything, have retained their Soviet citizenship.

We know that electoral procedures in some of the advanced capitalist states take such citizens into account, guaranteeing their right to vote and, in this way, influence the balance of political forces in their countries. This right is exercised through consulates. The Soviet citizens residing in the German Democratic Republic have never had, and do not have now, such an opportunity.

Reflecting on this, we have concluded that such a state of affairs is probably a result of the undeveloped political thinking deliberately and persistenly instilled in Soviet society by Stalinism and its followers in the stagnation period. Political backwardness has led to the strange bureaucratic incongruity of decisions permitting Soviet citizens to reside abroad without making legal provision for their basic political rights.

Sincerely approving and actively supporting the invigorating perestroika in our country, we express the hope that we, too, shall at last be given a chance to exercise the franchise envisaged in the Soviet Constitution. The Soviet consulates could help us in this respect. By voting in elections we want to demonstrate our agreement with the policy of perestroika and express our warm sympathy and full support for the new political forces that have formed in the Communist Party and in Soviet society.

On behalf of a group of Soviet citizens residing in the German Democratic Republic, signed Ivan Shipka, Irina Burkhardt, Evgeny Maximov, Nellie Siegler and Svetlana Schmelzer.

Carla Pelligrini
Vicenza, Italy

■ I am 20 years old, and studying astronomy and Russian. Last year, together with my family and a group of motorists, I travelled by car from Leningrad to Odessa. It seems to me that the members of our group had different impressions of your country. Many came to the Soviet Union with prejudice and saw what they wanted to see – only unfavourable aspects of your life. They wanted to find confirmation of their opinion that socialism and the theory of communism as a whole are bankrupt. They reminded me of an old man in our tourist group visiting Turkey last summer. He tried to persuade local people that the Christian faith is better than Islam.

Some of my friends are even more categorical in their judgements. They do not want to see other countries, arguing as follows: I know everything about them, I do not at all like what I know about them, and I have no desire to go there. I think that is stupid. I fully agree with Mr Gorbachev, who said that it is better to see once than to hear one hundred times. I wish to see everything for myself, without bias, and then perhaps say: "I do not like this." But it will be my own conclusion. That is why I like travelling so much.

A MATTER AT ISSUE

Marine Ardent
Nice, France

■ In your newspapers I have often read statements in support of raising retail prices. In my opinion, you will gain by lowering them, because I can attest that prices in your country are rather high in relation to your wages. Five hundred rubles is a very high wage in the Soviet Union, and a low wage for us, when calculated in francs. It is difficult to live on such a wage in France. I can imagine how high retail prices will be in your country if they are raised!

Your newspapers write about bad management, the poor quality of goods, and unprofitable enterprises. Moreover, your mills and factories are not operating at full capacity. Are you going to increase retail prices so that such enterprises can continue to exist? Is it fair that an ordinary family should have to pay for the mismanagement of others?

It seems to me that the problem of prices in your country can be solved without any miraculous methods. It is simply necessary to work well, make production efficient, and rule out spoilage and waste, especially of agricultural produce, during transportation. You are issuing shares and borrowing from abroad. Aren't you afraid that under the present production system these funds will be squandered?

After the war Japan converted its arms production facilities to civil purposes and rushed onto the Western market. The prices of its goods were low and their quality still lower. Those in the West who ridiculed Japan for making such a push were profoundly mistaken. Within a short time the Japanese had increased the quality of their products and achieved high results. It seems to me that, acting reasonably, you too could achieve the same results, because you are starting from the poor quality of your products.

Milos Motoska
Prague, Czechoslovakia

■ I read increasingly frequently of the lack both of young and of experienced managers in socialist countries to carry out the programme of economic perestroika. Suggestions are being made in this connection that on-site training for our young

GLASNOST

ecialists in companies erating in the market onomies could help solve e problem.

In 1965, as a student at the ague School of Economics, I posed that Czech and ovak students of economics incorporated into the Inter- tional Association of Stu- nts of Economic and Com- ercial Sciences. The im- ementation of this proposal lped to effect the training we e calling for today. Thanks to e association I have learned languages, made a close udy of marketing in Canada, d worked in the foreign de- rtment of the Westminster nk in England. The list could continued. There are no ver than 1,000 specialists of s kind in Czechoslovakia ne. Thanks to the experi- ce they have acquired ough the mediation of the echoslovak branch of the sociation, they are very iliar with the market situa- . I think that is useful ex- ience, isn't it?

Davydov
scow, U.S.S.R.

Perestroika in the Soviet on is arousing sympathies rldwide, particularly be- use it is destroying the emy image." Not only do ople sympathize with us. They also support our concrete steps towards enhancing the cause of peace.

The cuts that have been announced in our armed forces and armaments can only be welcomed. It is to be hoped that other countries will follow suit. The reduction of conventional armaments will increase the prestige of our country and open up possibilities for further economic progress, as it will provide the additional means so badly needed to catch up with the highly industrialized nations.

I would like to raise one other question in this connection. Hasn't the time come to reintroduce draft deferment for students at colleges with military departments? The need for such a measure is pointed out by scholars and leading figures in public life. But no practical steps have so far been taken.

V. Zemtsev
Smolensk Region, U.S.S.R.

■ It gave me pleasure to read Andrei Sakharov's article "Towards democracy" in issue 45/88. It fully confirmed my distrust of what had previously been written about him. Our press attacked the academician so crudely that, even without concrete facts, I very much doubted whether the reports were true.

It seems that past mistakes are being put right today, and truthful information is appearing in the press. But why have some problems been hushed up till now? Why are there no detailed and objective reports on the activity of the Pamyat (Memory) society? I feel that members of this organization should also be allowed to state their views in the press. Let them expose themselves publicly. Why such reservations? People are making conjectures of every kind and are unable fully to appreciate the terrible essence of the movement.

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

Emilio Lopez
Sancti-Spiritus, Cuba

■ Your magazine carried interesting reports on the Olympic Games in Seoul. I was glad to learn of the successes of Soviet athletes. In general, Cubans welcomed all your victories at these games as their own. But I don't understand one thing. Why was the Olympiad held in Seoul?

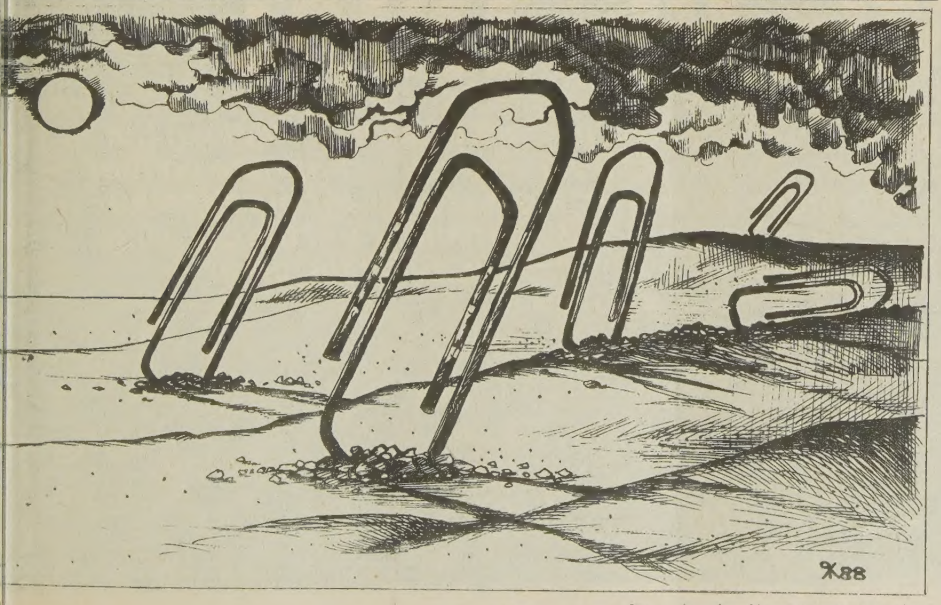
The presence of so many athletes and journalists at the games and the coverage South Korea was given in the media helped its government emerge from international isolation. I think it is possible to reach compromises on economic and even political issues. But it is impossible to compromise on an issue of principle.

J. Newell and A. Stern
Aldershot Hants, Britain

■ Having visited the Soviet Union several times between 1965 and 1985, we were both horrified and dismayed to read the article entitled "The Kazan Phenomenon" in issue 33/88 of New Times.

Back in our own country, we told other people that one could walk in Soviet cities in perfect safety, even when quite alone, at any hour of the day or night. What has happened in the last three years? As friends of the Soviet people who have travelled to many cities in your country, we feel that we have the right to ask you what is going on. We now feel most unwilling to pass on New Times to other people, and think that a more positive view of the Soviet Union can now be obtained from our media, not from New Times. It is with great regret that we feel that this letter has to be written.

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT



Drawing by Konstantin Yarikov

TIME OF TRIAL

Armenia is known as the home of an ancient culture, a cradle of the vine and a land of poetry and music. But the most appropriate epithet today would be long-suffering Armenia, whose soil is impregnated not only with the sweat of its tillers and craftsmen, and the gurgling waters of its mountain streams, but also with the bitter tears of its people.

Our special correspondents
Alexei Bukalov and Dmitry Pogorzhelsky
bring you an on-the-spot report from the disaster area, illustrated with pictures by Yuri Rost.

The news media have already informed the world of the appalling disaster that struck on that winter morning of December 7. On that day Armenia's mountains, seemingly so imperturbable, once extolled by the famous painter Martiros Saryan, convulsed for only a few instants, instants that were recorded by seismographers the world over. During those few instants, tens of thousands of people in northern Armenia were buried under the rubble of what once had been their homes. A sudden hush descended, attended by the clouds of black dust that settled over the ruins of Leninakan, Spitak, Stepanovan, Kirovakan and the many villages in their neighbourhood.

Below we shall speak only of what we ourselves saw and heard during the few sad days we spent in Armenia. First we shall describe our visit on the morning of December 9 to Leninakan, the republic's second largest city, which a few days earlier had justly been regarded as one of Armenia's most cheerful cities.

Our hosts, journalists from the local television and radio station, took us to the city, which is 110 kilometres from Yerevan. Only the fact that we were in their minibus enabled us to get through the congested traffic and the barriers of army personnel carriers, with which traffic police were trying to screen the three full lanes of automobiles of every design and description. The outer lane was occupied by a seemingly interminable chain of roaring tip-up lorries, mobile cranes and excavators: the inner one was filled with passenger cars hooting ceaselessly as they sought to overtake, headlights glaring despite broad daylight. They carried piles of freshly baked bread, heaps of blankets and pillows and bags filled with food – "for surviving relatives" we were told, while lashed to the luggage racks of some were long wooden coffins, "for dead relatives."

Meanwhile the third, innermost lane, was crowded with ambulances with flashing strobe lights and screeching sirens. We joined them and managed to reach our destination. Driving by we saw white Zhiguli sedans each with a pair of black coffins on top, one for an adult, the other for a child. The two Russian letters AD on their license plates. A for Armenia, the D for the series gave the Russian word "hell," – a most sombre detail.

The last surviving township on the approaches to Leninakan is Azatan, which means "town of freedom." A short way off is a remarkable campanile, a monument to the war dead; as the bells swayed in the wind, they tolled for the victims of the nightmare earthquake.

Minutes later we reached what had only recently been the city of Leninakan, now a wasteland of rubble and smoking ruins where high-rise blocks of flats had stood. One surviving relic was the chancel wall of the cathedral in the centre of the town. The scene was reminiscent of the ravages of war as seen in motion pictures, or of atom-bombed Hiroshima. More than four-fifths of the town's buildings had been destroyed: they included 30 factories and 168 panel houses, while further 210 five-storey walk-ups had been damaged or partly destroyed; leaning over, they stood deserted, their windows empty eye sockets. We were told that all 11,000 privately-owned houses had been damaged or partly destroyed.

We found the Centre set up to cope with the various problems not in the offices of the city CPSU Committee, as all that remained of the building was its pseudo-classical colonnade and torn placards and bunting, but together with the local military authority, in the one-storey structure of the former children's art showrooms. The Centre collated all the data received and assigned tasks to the arriving teams of volunteers.

Standing by the long table, girlish instructor Irina Bezuglaya calmly explained the local geography to two young men in paratroop uniforms. Only later did we learn that her own two children had died. The little girl asleep by the window had lost her parents. Still tacked to the walls were children's drawings, contributed by winners of a "May There Always Be Sunshine" competition.

We spent the whole day wandering around, stopping now and then to talk to a grief-stricken man or woman, who no longer seemed capable of smiling. Misfortune had struck every family here. The tragedies we witnessed surpassed the imagination of the world's greatest playwrights. Entering the yard of one surviving adobe house, we saw two bodies laid out in a mortal embrace. Khatchik was to have married Narine three days later. Around crying unashamedly friends and relatives mourned the death of the couple, a highland Armenian Romeo and Juliet.

Nearby excavators extracted household utensils, photographs and books from the ruins. By the empty coffins, women and old people looked on: they had lost all hope of seeing their near ones alive and merely wanted to give them a fitting funeral.

As dusk fell, bonfires were lit, there being more than enough fuel. Most spend the night in the open, despite the sub-zero temperatures that crept in after sunset. Meanwhile the radio cheerfully reported dispatch of tents to the quake-stricken republic. "Where are they, these tents?" we heard people ask.

The digging continued to the light of flaming torches and car headlights. More and more books whose owners were dead piled up. The last of the books, passed from hand to hand before being placed on the ground, was a heavy gilt-edged volume. In the flickering light, we were able to to make out the title – the "Book of Grief and Song" by Grigor

A city once stood here...

Mikhail Gorbachev visits the disaster area *TASS photo*

Narekatsi. How prophetic was the title of this collection of philosophical lyrics by medieval Armenia's great bard. We thumbed the pages, and the following lines floated up from the tenth century:

"A night of grief with twin misfortunes:
One of weeping, one of death;
A dawn of mourning with twin exhortings:
One, reproach, and one a threat..."

On the morning of the third day after the earthquake, we made our way to Yerevan's Erebuni airport. Helicopters landed one after the other. Hardly had the wheels touched the ground, than the pilot would indicate with his fingers how many injured people he was carrying. Ambulances immediately drove up to rush back to one or another hospital in Yerevan itself, a couple of minutes later.

In the meantime the helicopters were loaded with bread, blankets and clothing and moments later lifted into the air again.

After much persuasion – "Don't be upset. You know, they need food there" – we got into a helicopter, which took off in the direction of Spitak, the epicentre of the earthquake.

We caught sight of what remained of the town, so cosily tucked into the valley, some half an hour later, having crossed one more mountain range. All that was to be seen was a chaotic jumble of rubble and twisted girders. Rather than touch down now by the skeleton of its grain elevator, which we did later, we flew on further, to see some highland villages that could not otherwise be reached.

Admittedly the impression we had was that aid was belated. Indeed some villages had been completely flattened. Perhaps for the first time in our lives, as we looked into the sorrowing eyes of the people rushing towards our helicopter as it touched down in a field, did we reflect on the true price of what is proverbially called the staff of life.

Our chopper landed for a few minutes near the village of Nalband. With Aram Zakaryan, Suren Sarksiyan and Ashot Balagyozyan, the three members of our crew, we again pushed through the open hatch boxes filled with still warm loaves of bread. Suddenly a man, his eyes deep set in his stubbly face, shouted: "We don't need that much bread. Nearly everyone here is dead."

As the helicopter lifted off, we caught sight of several men clearing away the remains of a building that had been completely levelled, killing all 600 children at their school desks.

All the time, we felt that what we were seeing was unreal. Can it be that tragedies reach a certain critical mass, beyond which the mind refuses to accept what the eye sees, and one succumbs to a state of shock? The death of one person is always tragic, but what when you have tens of thousands of deaths?

At the same time we saw for ourselves again and again the stalwart courage the people of Armenia have shown, refusing to give in to this appalling misfortune. We could not but recollect the lines of the famous Soviet poet Anna Akhmatova, composed to mark a different tragedy that had beset the nation. She said then:

"The hour of courage struck on our clocks,
But courage will not desert us."

True enough, Armenia's tragedy has become a tragedy that for the entire country. With every new day and even hour, more teams of volunteers, rescue workers, doctors, engineers, and soldiers arrive with the equipment, food, medical supplies and warm clothing needed so urgently.

The earthquake has had world-wide repercussions in the form of plain human sympathy and solidarity. In the very first days after the earthquake, some 40 countries dispatched assistance and volunteers to the afflicted area, with Zvartnots Airport receiving planes from all over the globe.

On December 9, after a two-day delay in Rome airport due to a hitch in negotiations with the Soviet authorities, two Italian Hercules military transport planes touched down in Yerevan, bringing in the first team sent by Vito Lattanzio, Italy's Minister of Civil Defence, as this coordinating superdepartment is known.

The Italian group of 20 was led by the Minister's diplomatic counsellor Dr Vittorio Zamboni, who introduced us to the members of the so-called "assessment group." The group includes, apart from doctors, firemen and rescue workers, all front-rank experts who had helped during the natural disasters in Mexico and Colombia, Prof. Gasperini, Vice-Director of the National Institute of Geophysics. They had also brought with them three tons of medical supplies, two cross-country Fiat vehicles, tents, and communication equipment.

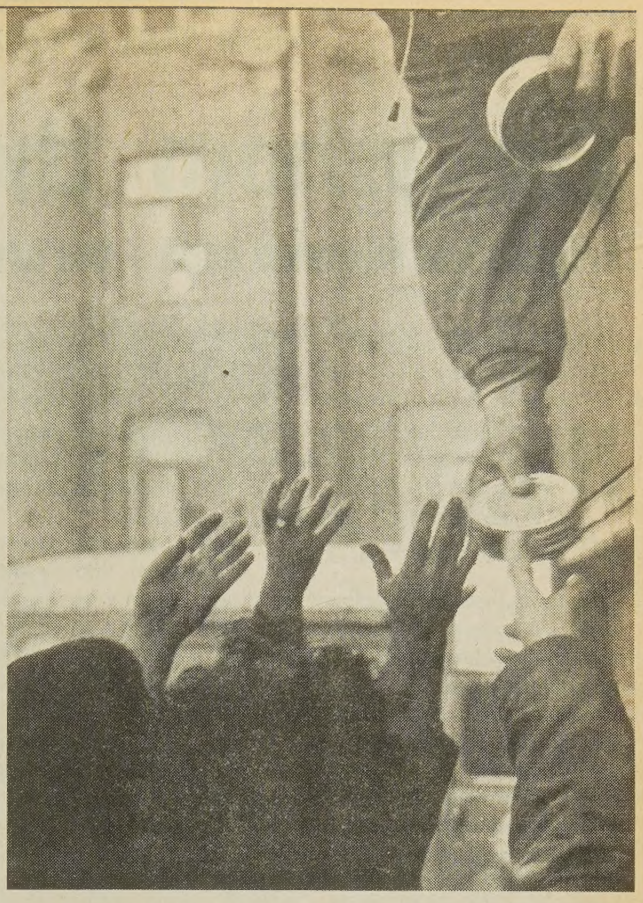
On December 10, another Italian group flew in, comprising mostly handlers with specially trained dogs. The Italian rescue workers are very proud of having come. "Our offer is only natural," Dr Zamboni stated. "One need only recall the frightful 1908 earthquake in the Italian port of Messina, where the death toll rose to more than 80,000. Seamen from the Russian fleet then stationed in the harbour, came to the rescue of the victims, dragging hundreds of people from under the rubble and ash."

Their initial impressions, we learned, were contradictory. Besides the businesslike courtesy shown by the local authorities at both republican and city level, and the gratitude and friendship expressed by the population, there was much that was disheartening, such as the lack of the necessary geographical, let alone geophysical, maps, and the almost complete discontinuation of rescue work at night. One fireman said that after the earthquake in the Italian region of Friuli it had been brighter at night than in the daytime, thanks to the hundreds of searchlights operated from mobile power stations. All the more so since there is a plant in Yerevan that makes generators for such mobile stations.

Incidentally, it was not just the Italians who were perplexed.

Our friends in Yerevan observed that what first came to mind after the December 7 'quake was that the loca

A team of French rescue workers



Help for the victims

tomic power plant had blown up. True enough, it is right next to the Armenian capital, in high-risk area, as it stands above a tectonic fault. For years on end, the public in Armenia had called for its closure, stepping up the demand especially after the Chernobyl disaster. It would appear that there are now plans to shut it down. However, it is still operating; its devices automatically cut off nuclear reactors when tremors of force-six and more occur.

There is also another crucial issue that must be thoroughly investigated, not immediately perhaps, but at the earliest possible date. The standard of housing is being implicated. How is it that hundreds of high-rise blocks collapsed, while many of the three and five-storey walk-ups popularly decried as "Khrushchev slums," are still standing? Who took Armenia's seismic conditions into account when planning housing? Who on earth wanted more and more of these panel blocks built in a land of pink tufa and stonemasons? These questions must be answered explicitly regardless of who is responsible.

Rescue work is running into many difficulties, some objective, some completely unjustifiable. Why do we here in the Soviet Union lack the special equipment that would locate survivors under the ruins?

One more painful issue, which Mikhail Gorbachev mentioned in his televised interview before leaving Armenia. Even today, despite the mass grief, there are evil rumours in circulation. Yerevan is full of them. Some are ridiculous, some offensive. For instance, the response to countrywide offers to house orphaned children: "Russian families are taking our children to deplete the Armenian nation, which is small as it is." Or still worse: "They want to send the Armenians to Siberia!"...

Though there is hardly any need to comment, such vile remarks must be mentioned.

Everyone we talked to in Armenia told us that conscience had made Mikhail Gorbachev break off his tour abroad and come to the 'quake-stricken area. As leader of the Party and the state, he just had to come to offer support and help.

In Mikhail Gorbachev we saw a man who was deeply moved, who could not sleep after visiting Leninakan.

To be frank, we here in the U.S.S.R. cannot get used overnight to such accidents as train crashes, naval collisions, atomic power plant blow-ups and natural disasters. Today all such tragedies are openly and honestly reported the moment they occur.

The reports of the earthquake in Armenia exemplify this new approach, glasnost.

One feels offended that before, for reasons that no normal human being could understand, such "unpleasant circumstances" were silenced, as if the country were insured against calamities and various other woes. What reached us was misinformation of a reflected nature, so to say.

Whether this was due to a feeling of false shame or the fear that the true picture of such events could subvert the pillars of our society is of no significance today. What we are now observing is that telling the truth about our grievous misfortune has made for efficient succor, brought everyone together, and by no means humiliated us, but on the contrary, aroused sincere sympathy the world over. It is small wonder that today for the first time since the last war the United States is officially aiding the Soviet Union, while the Supreme Pontiff has addressed a personal message to Mikhail Gorbachev and transferred a large sum of money to the fund set up to aid the victims.

What we discerned in the ruins of Spitak and Leninakan was the fearful portent of a nuclear apocalypse, which shows that on this planet of ours, too crowded for internecine strife, the misfortune of one is the misfortune of all.

YEREVAN–LENINAKAN–SPITAK

New Times staff have transferred not only a day's pay, but also 20,000 rubles from profits to account No. 700412 for the Armenian earthquake victims aid fund. They have also organized the collection of donations for the acquisition of bedlinen, and have dispatched winter clothing, blankets, footwear, provisions, and toys and garments for children to Yerevan.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

For whom the bell tolls...

Tragedy and renewed hope – the two poles of the New York blitz visit

Alexander Pumpyansky

No man is an Island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main...

...Never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

Under the resonant vaults of the U.N. where all parts of the world, all islands and continents meet, Mikhail Gorbachev recalled the words of John Donne. The bell tolled and we all heard the tragic peals of the disaster that struck in Armenia. The rumbling of the Earth and the voices of the dying and living merged into a sound that shook America, too. The Leninakan tragedy forcefully reminded us all of the weakness of mankind in all of its technological pride. The human race is as yet unable to save one city, although it has the power to wipe out all the cities on the face of the Earth.

What was planned as a trip to three world centres, the U.N. headquarters, Havana and London, had to be cut short to a 45-hour blitz visit to New York.

In my previous report I said that every Soviet-American meeting at summit level has had a plot and drama of its own. This meeting was the most dramatic of all, but the tragedy did not kill its message. On the contrary, it highlighted the significance of its appeal for world solidarity. The world has seen enough divisions and suicidal ethnic and social strife. May we all hear the rumblings of the calamities that threaten us! The time to cast away the stones has gone. The time to gather stones has come!

Clear-cut new proposals are expected of world leaders when they address the world: newsmen turn them into headlines and politicians make them the subject of discussions. The speech at the U.N. contained sensational announcements of unilateral cuts in Soviet troops and armaments, and important proposals covering the entire spectrum of international concerns, from the problem of external debts to the cutting short of arms supplies to Afghanistan and making peace there. The philosophy of the speech had no less important an appeal.

What will the human race be like as it steps into the 21st century? This may seem a rhetorical question, but the time to ask it is now, when the turn of the century and the millennium is just over a decade away. Now is the time to sum up this age of wars and revolutions and the staggering achievements of science and technology, both for good and for bad, but be that as it may, achievements that revolutionized our notions of the world around us. What have we understood, what truths have we finally grasped?

The world has changed, and continues to change rapidly, Mikhail Gorbachev says. The advent of nuclear weapons tragically highlighted the fundamental nature of these changes. As the material symbol and vehicle of absolute armed force, they laid bare the absolute limits of that force. The problem of the survival of the human race added an overriding dimension. In terms of real politics, that fundamental conclusion should be taken to mean that force or threats to use it can no longer serve as an instrument of foreign policy. What we need is self-restraint, excluding the use of force without. Hence the ideal of a non-violent world spelt out in the Delhi Declaration by the U.S.S.R. and India, two nations with vastly different experiences.

If weapons have turned from a means of assuring security, and gaining other ends, into a source of deadly menace to one and all what are the guarantees of security now? The notion of security has been expanded, for true security can only be universal; there can be no private shelters for individual countries. Closed societies are a technological anachronism. The democratization of the entire world order, international cooperation extending to a new structure of the international division of labour and disarmament are now at the heart of general security.

Just as it is impossible to assure one's own security at the expense of the security of others, or for that matter, through the squandering of one's own wealth, so development and true progress are impossible where the rights and freedom of individuals or nations are encroached upon, or where nature suffers irreparable damage.

Mikhail Gorbachev speaks of a new world that is beginning to emerge, and of the need to seek new ways into the future. That search should be based on the premise that world politics must be determined by the priority of universal humanitarian values. He returns to this idea time and again as he calls for universal consensus and progress toward a new world order, and defends the supremacy of the universal humanitarian idea over the multitude of forces at work to tear the world apart.

Two ideas dialectically complement each other in the context of this general discussion, the idea of the multi-optional development of society in both capitalist and socialist countries and the idea of the freedom of choice that must be guaranteed to one and all. On the other hand, we are reminded again of the dangers of insular thinking in terms solely of one's own values, a thinking that exhausts heart and soul.

Dogmatists in East and West alike will find it hard to stomach these ideas. Sectarianism rooted down in history, the division of the world into faithful and infidels, legitimate and illegitimate, claims to the possession of absolute truth made by those who act as if they had been sent into this world from an unknown future as they sneer at "historically backward," but technologically advanced social formations, are no more than ideological conjuring tricks and dangerous self-deception. The only conclusion that is good and true is that we are all parts, albeit different parts, of the same civilization. That idea is the cornerstone of new thinking, and it must be the cornerstone of international politics if we want the 21st century to be a new age, spelling an end to the deadly divisions that torment the human race, fratricidal shooting wars on a regional scale and the cold war on a global scale alike.

It is a time to gather stones together.

All this may sound like wishful thinking or rhetoric, but the world has seen that the lessons of new thinking have been learnt in gruelling and self-critical analysis. These ideas are not voiced in words alone but have been expressed in deeds as well.

The democratization and humanization of international relations will never get off the ground unless they begin at home. The world community begins with law-governed societies at home. International law will not triumph if human rights are violated.

Mikhail Gorbachev devoted a small part of his address to the U.N. to the issue of human rights in the U.S.S.R., but small though it was, it put paid to the exhaustingly heated debates of which the truth refused to be born.

He declared that there is no one convicted for his political or religious beliefs in any Soviet penal institution and that additional guarantees will be incorporated into new draft laws to rule out prosecution on these grounds. He also said that the problem of leaving and entering the U.S.S.R. is being dealt with humanely, that the problem of "refuseniks," people denied permission to leave on the grounds that they are in possession of state secrets, will be resolved by the introduction of strictly-defined statutes on the relevance of official secrets, and that the jamming of all foreign stations broadcasting into the U.S.S.R. has been stopped.

Facts speak louder than words; the discussion of the above problems has in the past often turned into little short of a battlefield, but it is now almost over. It has been won by one and all, the individual, the nation, and the entire international community. That is the only meaningful way to conduct a discussion. The time for casting away stones has gone.

Mikhail Gorbachev summed up the decisions taken in the past few years as follows: "It is our credo that political problems should be dealt with by political means alone and that humanitarian problems should be dealt with humanely."

The announcement from the U.N. rostrum of unilateral cuts in the Soviet army and armaments came as a sensation and a Christmas gift, which had been awaited but was a surprise nonetheless. The Soviet army is to be reduced by 500,000 men, and Soviet armaments deployed in the European U.S.S.R. and on the territory of Warsaw Treaty allies, by 10 thousand tanks, 8.5 thousand artillery systems, and 800 warplanes. Soviet troops stationed in the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia and Hungary will be reduced by 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks. The Soviet divisions that remain on the territory of our allies will be restructured to make their presence after the removal of the tanks purely defensive. At the same time, troops in the Asian U.S.S.R. are to be substantially reduced and some of the troops temporarily deployed in Mongolia are to be returned home.

In my previous report, discussing restructuring in the Soviet Union as a factor making for greater security, I said that it can even be assessed in terms of thousands of tanks and the number of divisions to be reduced. We now know its worth for today, but what about tomorrow? Significantly, following Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the U.N., shares in the three leading weapon manufacturers began to fall on the New York stock exchange. Economics analysts said that the military industry must diversify its output by contributing more to the civilian sector. Political analysts said that U.S. Congress will try to cut the defence budget and that it is likely to succeed. Therefore the problem of the colossal budget deficit will very probably be dealt with at the Pentagon's expense. That was the overall effect of the **unilateral** Soviet decision.

That decision is an excellent example of a positive outcome to a discussion. A full-scale battle of words took place in an attempt to prove the existence of military parity in Europe. The arguments bandied about went something like this: "Yes, we have slightly more tanks, but they have more anti-tank weapons," as if tanks were not a formidable striking force.

That is how trust is born. I was hardly able to believe my eyes when I saw what an open and affable attitude the American public at large have adopted to Mikhail Gorbachev and the Cause which he represents in their eyes. Such warm-hearted accord could not have been imagined three years ago. A cynic may say that the Americans are easily charmed, but readily disaffected. I won't argue that point. It would be more appropriate to look into what underlies the good feeling. Americans perceive Mikhail Gorbachev as a totally untypical Soviet leader who is not afraid to press for fundamental change. They don't know that will come of it, but they wish him and all of us every success. They believe that failure would spell tragedy and kill the hope that the world can live by reason.

Last summer we took the sight of Ronald Reagan in Red Square as the beginning of the cold war's end. Now many Americans share this view.

Photo from The New York Times

It all came like a bolt from the blue: the clock in Leninakan stopped at 11:42, one minute after an earthquake of terrible force had struck. U.S. papers reported that detail on December 9, but on December 7, late at night, the Americans were alarmed by reports that Mikhail Gorbachev's visit was going to be cut short because of an "earthquake." "Could it be a political earthquake? Have you heard that Chief of Staff Akhromeyev has resigned?" Questions of that kind asked from TV screens reveal a passion for political speculation, but they also reveal genuine alarm and fellow feeling. As reports about the scale of the tragedy in Armenia kept coming in, along with the death toll statistics and heart-rending pictures of the devastation, there was no

room left for speculation. Politics had to take a back seat as America was swept by sympathy and fellow feeling. In an amazing breakthrough, ordinary Americans and their President, and not just members of the Armenian community in the United States, said words of support and prayer for their fellow human beings in great distress. They also sent relief aid, which is being gratefully accepted, it seems for the first time since the mission to help the victims of the famine in the Volga River Region (in 1921) and the lend-lease programme of WW 2.

Ours is a small world knit closely together by the fellow feeling of all the people of the Earth. Mikhail Gorbachev's visit, broken off like a snapped thread, ended on a high-sounding note. The resounding echo of the tragedy added a new ring to its message. The Soviet leader called on the world to show reason as he spoke at the U.N., but it was the human heart that proved the most sensitive seismograph.

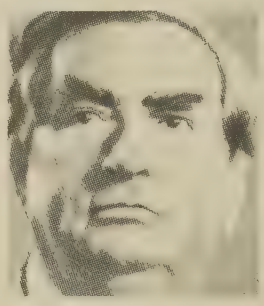
Listen to the hearts of human beings, beating even under the rubble. Listen carefully, for only together can human hearts and human reason save the world.

NEW YORK – MOSCOW

LOOKING FROM LONDON

Denis Healey:

"The Soviet leader has set world politics in motion"



New Times. Mikhail Gorbachev was compelled to postpone his visit to Britain by the catastophic earthquake in Armenia. How has London taken this decision?

Denis Healey. The news of the disaster and its numerous victims come as a bad shock to us. The Soviet leader's decision to be with his people in this trying time is understandable and perfectly justified. There is no denying, of course, the importance of General Secretary's visit to London, with the United Kingdom having a notable role to play in the West.

N.T. The Soviet approach to the United Kingdom today differs markedly from that of just a few years ago. Have the Britishers' notions of the Soviet Union changed?

D.H. Our public thinks very highly of Gorbachev's policy and regards him as the world's most authoritative leader. Government experts are more cautious but, on the whole, they take a positive view of the changes now in progress in the U.S.S.R. Mrs Thatcher voices rather controversial views. She likes General Secretary Gorbachev as a person, but not his convictions. On the one hand the head of the British cabinet takes a favourable view of perestroika in the U.S.S.R. and, on the other, she is profoundly suspicious about everything that looks socialist to her.

The main thing is that Gorbachev has set world politics in motion. Given support of his line by the Soviet people, it is certain to gain universal recognition in the world community.

N.T. In the postwar years our two countries have been much more of opponents than partners and allies. Now cooperation is gaining in scale, and contradictions are receding to the background. What are the objective causes of this process?

D.H. The chief reason is that all sober-minded governments agree today on the irrationality of war as a means of solving problems. Besides, Great Britain has long come to realize that the cost of keeping vast parts of the world under control is in excess out of all proportion to the likely political and economic dividends. It seems to me that the Soviet Union has also come to realize this. Presumably, this factor contributes to the correct assessment of the processes now under way in Eastern Europe and some Soviet Republics.

Our two countries have a common objective, which is to put an end to the unnatural division of Europe as a result of which American and Soviet armies confront each other in the centre of the continent. Instead, we are to build what Gorbachev has described as "common European home."

Finally, we see eye to eye on the need to promote business contacts, especially in the field of technology.

N.T. The United Kingdom and the Soviet Union take different approaches to many aspects of disarmament. Does that imply that they will never succeed in reaching understanding on practical measures towards a greater stability in Europe?

D.H. I hope that the differences in question are not as deep as they sometimes appear to be. Some conservative governments in the West have often complained that the U.S.S.R. keeps building up its armed forces. Well, now Moscow is cutting its armed forces, as it did in Khrushchev's time.

N.T. What do you think about the latest Soviet proposals in the United Nations?

D.H. The statistics are impressive. All experts agree in that the U.S.S.R. is taking a major unilateral step to get the negotiations on troop and conventional arms cuts in Europe really going. On the other hand, NATO is confused: Gorbachev still hasn't got an answer from Brussels to his call of 18 months ago for a new look at the problem.

For the first time since the mid-fifties, when the West missed its chance, there is a realistic opportunity to put an end to

Denis Healey is a prominent British politician, a Labour MP.

military confrontation in Central Europe. The problem is that NATO still hasn't come up with proposals negotiable with the Warsaw Treaty countries. The former approach of the North Atlantic bloc is unacceptable, of course, because it demands that the Warsaw Treaty Organization should forfeit its superiority in tanks and manpower, but provides for NATO keeping its naval and strike air force supremacy.

I think the U.S.A., the F.R.G. and probably France would very much like to take advantage of the favourable opportunity which presents itself. Hopefully, the British government will join them rather than insist on moves which can only aggravate the situation. I mean, above all, the dangerous attempts to modernize the nuclear weapons deployed on the West German territory.

N.T. Are we to expect NATO to take reciprocal action in the field of European disarmament?

D.H. It is my sincere hope that NATO will have the courage to alter its line. After all, the U.S. is as anxious to save on defence spending as the U.S.S.R. Gorbachev has come up with brilliant initiatives, and now the American side is expected to go its part of the way. Otherwise, the U.S. will have to cut its armed forces anyway owing to its federal budget deficit, and the F.R.G. – because of the shortage of the young people eligible for military service. But in that case we shall have unilateral troop reduction uncompensated by the East.

N.T. A lower level of conventional arms in Europe would be a factor for complete or partial elimination of nuclear weapons on the continent. Is NATO prepared for such a development?

D.H. I am sure that NATO and the WTO possess more nuclear weapons on the continent than they really need for their defence. I am also confident that it is hardly possible to rid the world of atomic weapons towards the end of this century, as the U.S.S.R. proposes to do. So far there is no indication that China or Israel are prepared to renounce their nuclear capability.

In my opinion, the creation of a new international security system which would enable nations belonging to different political systems to work together for a lasting peace is more important than the elimination of 1,000 warheads. If the West gets perestroika in Soviet foreign policy right, this must be Moscow's No. 1 objective.

N.T. Many consider Winston Churchill the "father of the cold war" while Margaret Thatcher says Europe is renouncing confrontation.

D.H. I have lived through World War II in which our two nations were allies. But after the war Stalin caused the West to have such a negative notion of Soviet policy that the formation of NATO appeared an inevitable protective measure. Today we must forget about our past differences and work for a better Europe. In the atmosphere of glasnost the Soviet people and leadership probably take a different view of many historical events and share this opinion.

N.T. Is the idea of the common European home attractive to the British people?

D.H. Honestly, Britishers are isolationists by nature. Recall the famous London paper headline: "Fog in Channel. Continent Isolated." Many of us are not enthusiastic about Europe in general, whether Eastern or Western. On the other hand, people show interest in European affairs in various spheres. For instance, we regard masterpieces of fiction and music as all-European heritage regardless of their creators' nationality.

I must confess that I wonder what the people in Tajikistan and Kazakhstan think when they hear talk about the common European home?

N.T. In all likelihood they understand that a strong and closely-knit home will have room for all the citizens of the U.S.S.R. But how lasting this home will be depends on cooperation between neighbours. So far, Soviet-British contacts in the economic sphere are restrained by differences of approach: Moscow favours joint ventures, coproduction and joint projects, while London emphasizes traditional trade exchanges restricted, incidentally, by the notorious Cocom lists.

D.H. There are also problems of another kind: the Soviet Union is having difficulties in producing goods that could attract British buyers. The arms cuts Gorbachev announced will release considerable technological as well as manpower resources for the civilian sector of your economy. Naturally this will facilitate the updating of your industry, and the West will be more interested in cooperating with it. Making your ruble convertible could be another step in this direction, but this is hardly likely to happen shortly.

So far the British industry is yet to find a solution to a national problem – our products' insufficient competitiveness in the world market, which undoubtedly handicaps British-Soviet cooperation.

(Retranslated from the Russian)

Interviewer: our special correspondent Alexander Polyukhov
LONDON

VIEW FROM BRUSSELS

A welcome with reservations

The winter session of the NATO Council opened the day after Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the General Assembly, and the world public was naturally interested to learn how the Alliance would respond to his statement.

Hans van den Broek, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, now chairman of the Council, noted that Gorbachev's speech "covers a wide range of observations, and presents significant unilateral steps in the field of conventional arms reductions." His F.R.G. counterpart, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, expressed the view that Moscow's decisions open up "a new chapter in the history of disarmament," and called for a "courageous use of opportunities," urging the West to abandon "its faint-heartedness" about disarmament. NATO Secretary-General Manfred Wörner described the statement on the unilateral reduction of the Soviet armed forces as "an encouraging development which we welcome."

At the same time, the International Herald Tribune wrote, the members of the Council tried "to prevent euphoria over the Soviet move and forestall any weakening in public support for NATO." This particularly concerns the F.R.G., where, the newspaper said, "public irritation about NATO military activity has grown in response to a view that the Soviet threat is diminishing."

The positive response was therefore accompanied with a reservation: the unilateral Soviet cuts merely lessen rather than eliminate the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional armaments,

The North Atlantic Council in session at the NATO headquarters

Photo from the magazine NATO Review

especially its superiority in artillery and tanks, which remains "overwhelming." NATO's superiority in tactical aircraft, combat helicopters and naval forces is modestly hushed up.

The reservations have been backed up with figures from a booklet on conventional forces in Europe submitted by Manfred Wörner to Brussels-based journalists late in November. Since many NATO advocates cite this document as their Bible, readers should be acquainted with it at least in brief.

The booklet compares the non-nuclear potentials of both sides. According to NATO calculations, the Warsaw Treaty has overwhelming superiority in all the principal types of weapon without exception. I hope that the military experts of the Soviet Union and its allies will soon comment on these data and make public their own. But even a cursory look arouses serious doubts about the truthfulness of the information given in the booklet.

Take aviation, for instance. The authors of the booklet included in the Warsaw Treaty list of combat aircraft An-12 transport planes, old MIG-15 and MIG-17 jets, and Backfires. It will be recalled that the United States and its allies once raised a furore over Backfires, calling them intercontinental bombers and insisting on their inclusion in the list of strategic arms carriers.

At the same time, Western sources completely forget about their planes based on aircraft carriers and other ships near the European coast. They are intended for combat action in European air space and represent quite a formidable force.

It is not a matter of figures alone. NATO experts ignore the qualitative factor of armaments and their combat potentialities. For instance, can the An-12 transport plane and the old MIG-15 jet be compared as equal combat units with modern Tornado or F-15 planes?

I was not the only journalist to voice doubts about the objectivity of the conclusion on the Warsaw Treaty's "vast" superiority in all the main components of conventional armaments. When the above-mentioned booklet was presented at a press conference, a British journalist noted that NATO's approach was "highly selective," that is, it overemphasized the strong aspects of the Warsaw Treaty and concealed its own advantages. This led the British journalist to suggest that it might mean "a new stage of propaganda war for political purposes."

Anyhow, the statement on control over conventional armaments, approved by the Council, contains proposals which NATO is going to put forward at the forthcoming talks on a reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. It clearly reveals NATO's desire to cut armaments in which the Warsaw Treaty has an advantage and keep its own advantages intact, or to postpone talks on them till the indefinite future.

For instance, NATO proposes that each side should have 20,000 tanks in Europe. The implementation of this proposal would leave NATO's armoured divisions practically intact, whereas the Soviet Union would have to scrap 15,000 tanks in addition to the 10,000 tanks it has already promised to cut.

The Soviet Union has stated more than once that it is not against asymmetric cuts and is prepared to accept equal ceilings. But ceilings should be set not only for weapons in which the Warsaw Treaty is stronger. NATO should also forgo its advantages in other types of armament. However, it has not yet expressed a readiness to do so.

Restrictions are offered only for tanks. Manfred Wörner explained that armoured troops and artillery are most dangerous, because they can be used for a surprise attack. But why is a tank more dangerous than a bomber? Why should the Warsaw Treaty states, discussing the amount of guns on both sides, close their eyes to the rapidly increasing "head" of NATO's sea- and air-based cruise missiles? Why should the problem of conventional arms cuts be confined to land troops, without taking into account the naval forces deployed in the off-shore waters of Europe?

The main question is how NATO will respond to the latest Soviet initiatives. This question was repeatedly put at press conferences and briefings in the NATO headquarters. Some Western countries have their own ideas on this score. For instance, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Belgian Defence Minister Guy Coeme have declared themselves in favour of a revision of the plans, now being discussed in NATO, for the modernization of short-range nuclear weapons. Volker Rühe, a leading member of the Christian Democratic Union, has suggested that NATO respond with a unilateral dismantling of nuclear artillery and a reduction of armed forces by 15 per cent.

But North Atlantic leaders immediately disowned these ideas. Manfred Wörner, supported by George Shultz, told journalists that the West was not going to take any unilateral action.

Many people have expressed surprise at NATO's stand. The Guardian asks, for instance, whether Western leaders can imagine a world without confrontation, a world such as Mikhail Gorbachev has proposed to build, and, if they can, what they intend to do to bring it about.

The winter session of the NATO Council has not given an answer to these questions.

Vyacheslav Boikov

BRUSSELS

Never mind reproaches...

Lev Bezymensky

A good proposal is easier to kill than to carry into effect. Such a danger threatens the good proposal – good in the true sense of the word – made by Mikhail Gorbachev at the U.N. General Assembly. The world public learned that the Soviet Union had decided to cut its armed forces. A new principle of defence – the principle of reasonable sufficiency – is to be implemented.

Hardly had the proposal been announced than two "anonymous" advisors appeared. One of them, obviously of foreign origin, tells us with NATO reference books old and new in his hands: you will not be understood. The Soviet Union still has more armaments. Here are our figures. They make everything clear. The Soviet Union has to disarm even further.

The other advisor, a compatriot, warns us: don't frighten Soviet people, don't make them anxious about the country's defence and, especially, don't frighten war veterans, who will immediately start writing alarmed letters to the press. We journalists seem to find ourselves caught between the two advisors. On the one hand, we had to prove that the arms cuts are substantial. On the other, we have to persuade the people that they are not as substantial as all that.

I don't think we should do anything of the kind. "Advisors" of the first type are well known to us. They once tried to set a trap for Soviet diplomats at the ill-fated Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Both parties produced figures on the armed strength of the two blocs. The figures did not tally, and an endless argument began. I think the Soviet delegates were not entirely aware of the cleverness of this design and, with the thoroughness and persistence that is characteristic of them, began to prove the validity of their data. As a result, the talks dragged on for years. The same debate on figures flared up over the issue of Pershing and SS-20 missiles. While the parties counted each other's warheads, the deployment of missiles went on.

Moscow set a truly historic example on the missile issue by breaking the scholastic deadlock at the talks. The artificially created difficulty was removed, and a treaty was concluded. For that reason it would now be inadmissible to enter into an argument about what would remain after a reduction of the Soviet armed forces by 500,000 troops and 10,000 tanks. Let NATO scholastics calculate what would remain. The disarmament process should continue.

We shall not acidly ask the West why, if it insists that the Soviet Union retains its superiority in certain spheres, it is not itself embarrassed by its own superiority in others. It seems the West has not matured enough to take unilateral steps. But the Soviet move has created a new situation, one of real cuts in the armed forces. The conclusion of a missile agreement shows that such a situation is likely to produce good results.

There is also a ready answer to "advisors" of the second type. As a war veteran, I venture to disagree with those who suggest that all war veterans are diehards. The war taught us a hard lesson, of course. But our generation knows something else: numerical superiority is not a reliable guarantee. It now transpires that in 1941 the Soviet Union had more tanks and planes than Nazi Germany. However, this superiority did not help.

Numbers are not decisive

It would be even more dangerous to apply the experience of the last war to the realities of the nuclear-laser and computer age. It is clear to everyone that what is needed for reasonable defence is not a supergiant but an efficient modern war machine. A new-type army does not mean more weapons and, even less so, new and smarter uniforms. It calls for a radical change of the very military doctrine.

The opening of a discussion in Soviet society on the advantages of a professional army is an indicative fact. It shows that glasnost is becoming a reality even in that most secret area. True, what we lack is information. We would like to know about the Soviet armed forces not from NATO but from Soviet sources. This would not do our armed forces any harm.

Discussing the latest initiative, the Soviet public is first and foremost weighing up what the proposed cuts will bring. The time has come to give up the old habit of speaking for others. We have long calculated what coversion from arms to civil production will mean for the West. It's time to think about ourselves. It appears from a recent meeting in Moscow that conversion is proceeding slowly. This emphasizes the importance of the intention announced by Gorbachev in the United Nations, namely, to work out a general plan for conversion and draw up conversion plans in 1989 for two or three specific defence plants.

In setting the level of reasonable sufficiency we should seek not merely to spite the West, but to promote the interests of perestroika and of Soviet society to safeguard its security. More cuts should be effected if necessary, without any fear of being reproached for making concessions to the West, because concessions to our own inertia are far more dangerous.

The profound meaning of the latest move lies not in the figures but in the fact that it removes the obstacles in the way of conventional arms reduction. The idea of a reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals advanced by socialist countries at their meeting in Budapest remains an idea only, because no agreement on talks has so far been reached. But this idea should and can be made a reality as has the idea of eliminating a whole class of nuclear weapons. Reproaches can be ignored in order to attain this goal.

What's new in Santiago

Lyrical report on a mission fulfilled 16 years later

Alexander Karmen

What did Santiago look like?

Everybody I have met during the last few weeks has asked me that question.

The previous time I was in Santiago was in November 1972 when the government of Salvador Allende was in power.

Then and now

What did Santiago look like?

It is a beautiful and rather noisy city, which is unusually clean for Latin America. The people of the Chilean capital are proud of their clean streets. If asked how they managed to keep the city so clean, people will say:

"It's simple. Have you ever seen a dirty barracks?"

The answer is convincing enough.

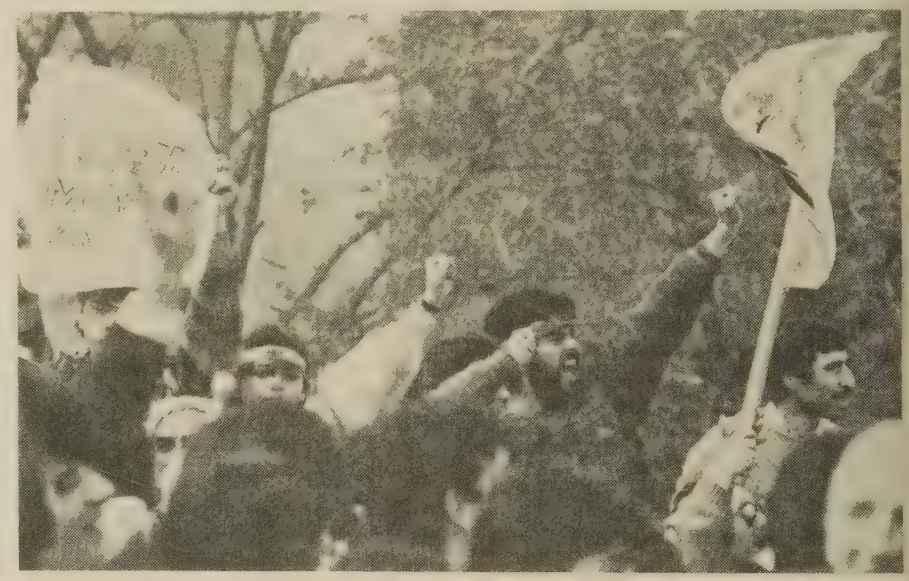
Many new modern buildings with plate glass windows have sprung up. They are mainly branch offices of foreign banks and large trade centres. They fit in rather well with the older, solid, huge buildings, built for centuries, with their marble-and-granite façades. Even in Plaza de Armas a mirror-plated high-rise building now stands next to a huge cathedral, which offers comfort to the Chileans in time of their grief and suffering. Somehow it does not seem out of place there, because it reflects the cathedral and the entire square adding an extra dimension to it. However, this was my personal impression. Oddly enough, a carabineer standing beside me asked:

"Does that glass box really appeal to you?"

In 1972 they had only started to build the Metro. Today it is running. It is clean and attractive, with small, rather toy-like blue trains with narrow carriages and neat brightly coloured ads. Unfortunately, it has not solved the city's transport problem. Originally it was intended to link the centre with the working-class suburbs. Instead, its main line extends to the wealthy district of villas and mansions, whose occupants need the Metro least of all. So, just like 16 years ago, a fleet of overcrowded, rattling buses, filling the air with their exhaust fumes, bear the main burden of Santiago's passenger traffic. By noon the city is covered with smog.

In the heart of Santiago there are two cross streets – Huérfanos and Ahumada – which have been turned into splendid pedestrian malls. Paved with small blocks, they are dotted with fountains and benches, and lined with an infinite number of shops, cafés and snack bars with bright shop windows. There is music flowing from somewhere, a delicious smell of coffee and swarming crowds of people. These boulevards give the city centre the character of a human beehive, which fits into the sociable, good-mannered and impulsive disposition of the Chileans.

As you make your way through the crowds, you can hear the usual daytime noises of the city: the hum of the crowd, the clatter and shuffle of thousands of feet, and the drone of car engines in the nearby streets. Then, suddenly, it is quiet as if the sound has been turned off. It looks as if nothing has changed. The houses and the people are there, though their pace has slackened and you no longer hear their steps. It is a sickening, oppressive silence. People all turn their heads in the same direction, towards the place where Huérfanos crosses Ahumada. This means that a block or two away they are restoring "law and order." It means that placards demanding freedom for political prisoners have appeared or someone is collecting signatures to a petition requesting the authorities to give information on persons taken by Pinochet's secret police. Perhaps, somebody has organized a meeting or a protest rally. Against what? In a country where the law is constantly being violated and power is regularly abused one can always find a reason for such actions.



A protest rally held in the capital against the dictatorship

And indeed, if you go to the place which is the focus of the people's attention, you will see a squad of helmeted carabineers driving an armoured huascar water vehicle with a water gun mounted on top and another under the belly. If the water-and-acid jet is fired it will knock the people off their feet, even if they have taken shelter behind a parked car or a vendor's stall. It has the kick of a mule.

The armoured huascar is invariably es-

ALEXANDER KARMEN. Novosti Press Agency correspondent in Latin America. The reportage has been written specially for New Times.

corted by a couple of armoured zorrillos skunk jeeps, which squirt out a caustic gas that is harmful to the lungs and skin. Under favourable circumstances the placards will be destroyed by water guns or confiscated. If the events take an unfavourable turn, the protest marchers will be arrested. If things get really bad the carabineers will attack everybody – the protest marchers, the journalists and the bystanders.

The city has changed. Many streets and buildings have been given new names. Those associated with heroic revolutionary past have disappeared. Some of the monuments and memorials have been moved to other places. Others, like the Che Guevara memorial built with money collected in a working-class district of Santiago, have vanished altogether.

The time difference between Moscow and Santiago is six hours. In the morning when the teletypists come to the office in Moscow, it is 2 a.m. in Santiago. At night

"Law and order" being restored...

I often had to walk from the Santa Lucia Hotel to the press centre at the Carrera Hotel on Plaza de la Constitucion in complete darkness. The life of these neighbourhoods is now determined by different laws than in the past. Having lived under emergency conditions and a state of siege over a period of many years (it was abolished shortly before the plebiscite held on October 5, 1988), the people no longer go for long walks in the night or spend hours together with friends and acquaintances in outdoor cafés. Just like in the past, the streets are full of people till about 9 p.m. But by 10 p.m. they gradually return to their homes. Even in the snack bars, beer halls and cafés that remain open late it was quiet. There were no loud and carefree arguments of the past. Before you could sit and talk with a friend for a long time in the Haiti café. Now they have been turned into fast-service coffee shops. No time is wasted in drinking a cup of coffee, and it is only the very busy attractive, long-legged waitresses in their tightly fitting minis that might cause a customer to linger on for an extra minute. Working like automatons, they do not even have the time to flash a smile at the customers showering them with "piropos" – the charming and kind, though slightly dubious, typically Latin American compliments.

After 10 p.m. a different type of people appear in the deserted streets. They arrive in carts drawn by old, worn-out horses. These are the dustmen. By the time they arrive large plastic bags filled with refuse have been placed at the doors of houses and dark entrances of restaurants and cafés. The drivers carry the bags to their carts, but they do not leave immediately. They give the hungry people, clad in rags, a chance to pick them over. By 1 a.m. the sad procedure is completed, the garbage loaded and carted to dumps. The clatter of hoofs tick away the last minutes of the departing day. All who remain on the streets are the prostitutes seeking a late client, and a few lonely blind musicians playing cheerless tunes on their pipes and begging in vain for a few coins.

Pinochet's revenge

What did Santiago look like?

One of the first places I went to visit to see what had changed was Vicuña Maquenna Street. In the 1970s it was the centre of a thriving textile industry of worldwide renown. Together with the Yarur mill (ex-Yarur then), located in another part of the city, the nationalized Textil Progreso and Sumar enterprises were the first to be placed under workers' control. Prior to nationalization these three mills formed the stronghold of Yarur's empire. The magnate Yarur is an unscrupulous exploiter of his workers, and avowed enemy of the Popular Unity government.

The only thing I recognized were the liebres (or rabbits – the Chilean name for a small bus) which shuttle between Sumar and Yarur, the two centres of the former empire. The formerly flourishing textile industry has fallen into decay. It could not withstand the influx of cheap goods from Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea and Europe. Pinochet had swung the doors wide open to foreign goods and capital. Thousands of workers are now unemployed, Vicuña Maquenna Street is in agony, and no more than a ghost street.

However, Yarur is no worse off for this. He returned from exile after Pinochet's putsch and took back the nationalized industries. Realizing he could not compete with the cheap imports, he immediately reinvested his money in more promising and profitable industries and banking. Just like the others, who were behind the military putsch, Yarur suffered no losses. They are prospering now as they had prospered before the Salvador Allende government came to power. As for the jobless workers and their hungry families they are not in the least concerned about them.

The city has changed. In the past the highway to the airport was lined on both sides with hundreds of wretched hovels made out of plywood or even mats. The poblaciones, as these slum districts are called, would be made up of "modules" – a dozen shacks thrown up around a hydrant. Electricity was a luxury, a sign of prosperity. It was a depressing sight. Under the Salvador Allende government modern blocks of flats were being erected near these poblaciones. The housing projects were making rapid progress. A large Soviet-built prefabrication plant in Valparaiso effectively helped the programme. The inhabitants of the poblaciones worked on a voluntary basis on Saturdays. I visited a few of these modern blocks and saw how happy the tenants were, particularly because of the low rent.

Pinochet also provided homes for the homeless families. This was usually done on the eve of the plebiscite. The people call the dictator's "gift" flat "a bed with a toilet," because they were so small. The rooms are stuffy in summer and cold in winter. In addition, the "fortunate" owner is burdened with a heavy debt. Of course,

to earn this privilege you have to be unquestionably loyal to the Pinochet dictatorship.

I asked Guillermo Torres, General Secretary of the Chilean Board of Journalists, what had happened to the miserable huts I had seen before. "Have all the inhabitants been moved to new blocks?" I asked.

"They've been pushed well and truly out of sight, so as not to blemish the view for the tourists and businessmen," he said bitterly. "Chile should be attractively clean and neat for them, just like the centre of the capital. However, you will see the poverty, if you go five kilometres out of the city or travel south along the Pan-American Highway."

Indeed, why should distress and misery mar the image of a "successful" country created by its present rulers. An image of a country with practically the best economic indicators in Latin America. Of a country that is about to join the club of Western industrially developed countries. How can a country like that show the visitors what its "backyard" at whose cost it managed to make such progress looks like.

I do not know whether to count myself lucky or not, but when I was on my way from the airport I caught a glimpse of the "backyard." On the roadside I saw about a dozen poorly dressed men working over some big object. We slowed down to take a closer look at what they were doing. They were hastily cutting up the carcass of a dead horse. The men were working in complete silence. In a few minutes all that was left was a pile of blood-stained bones. The men disappeared, and a pack of stray dogs appeared out of nowhere and started to gnaw the bones. Overhead the black vultures circled slowly. A grim sight.

Later I learnt that the unattended animal had been run over by a car. Before the owner returned the carcass was immediately sliced up. it was a rare chance to bring home a piece of meat.

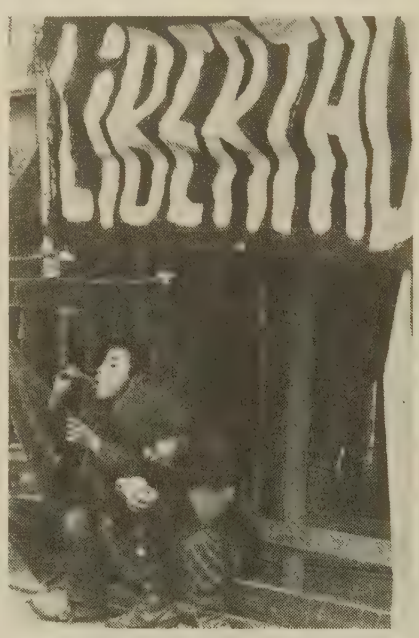
In poblacion Valledor Sur I interviewed Juana Méndez, a housewife. Three families live in the four small rooms of her wooden house. Fifteen people in all. Their only regular income is the 12,000 pesos (48 dollars) a month her husband, a carpenter, earns. Out of this they pay 5,000 pesos for electricity and 1,800 for water. There is not enough left to buy sufficient food. The children must have milk and textbooks, not to mention school uniforms.

"How do you manage?" I asked.

"Oh, we get by somehow," said the housewife, smiling at me. "We used to buy two to three kilograms of bread a day, and now we make do with half a kilogram. Instead of two kilograms of sugar we use only 250 grams. Of course, we try to earn a little exta money whenever we can, otherwise we would die of hunger. A 'mutual benefit fund' has been set up locally. Without this fund it would be unbearable, because one out of every two people here is unemployed."

Unemployment is accompanied by degradation. Families split up, the numbers of alcoholics and drug addicts is rising, causing the crime rate to soar as despair mounts.

These hardships have been complicated by severe repressions. Valledor Sur was one of the first areas to engage in the popular protest campaigns between



The notice reads: "Freedom." How much longer do the young and grownup Chileans have to wait for it?

1982 and 1984. The people have always marked May Day, the setting up of the United Trade Union Centre of Chile and September 11, day of the military coup, each in its own way. It has gone through quite a few bloodbaths, roundups, searches and mass arrests. Many of its inhabitants have been thrown into prison or concentration camps. Many are still missing.

That was how Pinochet avenged himself on the people for supporting Comrade President.

A close-up of La Moneda Palace

What did Santiago look like?

The press centre of the plebiscite was at the Carrera Hotel on Plaza de la Constitucion. I went into the hotel manager's office on the third floor and asked if I could take a look at the square from a room on one of the upper floors. He agreed immediately and escorted me to a vacant room on the sixth floor.

It is hard to explain what I felt as I looked out of the window. I did not know what to compare my feelings with at that moment. Perhaps, it is like stopping and reversing a film to bring back to the screen a dramatic event buried deep in your memory.

As I looked at the La Moneda Palace I saw in my mind's eye the newsreel which created a worldwide sensation 15 years ago. Perhaps it had been filmed from that very window. The presidential residence, enveloped in smoke and flames and being dive-bombed by insurgent air force planes, and tanks concentrated in the square in front of the palace.

"Are you all right?" the manager asked politely. "Do you suffer from vertigo? Perhaps, it would be safer not to lean out of the window?"

"Thank you, I'm all right," I replied.

On the following day from the hotel window I relived another experience. A parade of La Moneda carabineer guards in front of the palace. In November 1972 I witnessed a similar changing of the guard. I was not lucky then, because the sky was overcast and it drizzled. That day the sun was shining, the lawns were green, the flowers were blooming and the military band was playing lyrical, rather than bravura, marches. After the changing of the guard ceremony was over the order "To the right, march!" was given and the band began to play, the big drum boomed. As the carabineers marched towards the palace their boots came down hard on the paving stones. The echo of their steps was like machine-gun fire at the walls of the palace. The big drum thundered like artillery guns. The carabineers marched with a firm, measured tread directly towards me.

La Moneda Palace has been rebuilt. It is now Pinochet's city residence. He enters a side gate in a grey Mercedes, escorted by patrol cars with flashing lights and screaming sirens. He leaves the palace with equal pomp. I wondered whether the tyrant had the nerve to occupy President Salvador Allende's office.

I was offered a tour of La Moneda Palace.

"But you will have to ask politely," I was told.

I refused. I walked around this gloomy looking building around outside. The scars – signs of the crime – could not be erased. Perhaps the new building material was incompatible with the old. The brown paint on the façade has not concealed the plastered cracks or holes on the façade or walls. These are the scars from the wounds inflicted by the artillery shells fired by the putschists.

Here is the corner balcony from which

Salvador Allende addressed the people assembled in Plaza de la Constitucion. It was there early in the morning of September 11, 1973, that he was seen for the last time. Waving his hand he left the balcony. The Radio Magallanes broadcast his last words:

"Workers of my homeland, I have faith in Chile, I have faith in the fate of my land. There will be people who will survive this grim and bitter hour when treason is seeking to seize power. I want you to know that the day is not far off, when the wide road will open and free men will again march along it on the way to building a better life."

But treason has lived for a long time in La Moneda Palace, much longer than expected. It has affected Chile like a malignant tumour spreading to every part of it. It seemed as if it could not be cured. But on October 6, 1988, I was standing in the Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue in the midst of a crowd of happy people, who were celebrating the victory of the opposition in the plebiscite held the day before. It seemed to me that Salvador Allende's last words had come true and I was back in the Santiago of 16 years ago. In those days it was a militant and vigorous city that had confidence in the future.

On October 6 the people on the Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue were triumphant. A mighty rejoicing throng filled it to capacity. Like a wave it reached the walls of La Moneda Palace. The marchers began to fraternize with the carabineers. Totally discouraged they readily responded to the people's sincere desire to break down the barrier of hatred that had separated them from men in uniform 15 years ago. But then the carabineers were ordered to push the marchers back from La Moneda Palace and to disperse the crowd. So the carabineers, who a moment before had been so kind, put on their helmets, covered their faces with visors and took their clubs in hand. The armoured huascars and zorrillos reappeared to support the carabineers in dealing cruelly with the marchers, and with the journalists who were covering this act of violence.

But from then on the Chileans were different. They were the victors. The clubs, gas, and repressions could not change the new status of the nation anymore.

So what did Santiago look like to me?

It is indeed a wonderful, beautiful and friendly city. It is also capable of inspiring fear. Its people have become accustomed to live with butchers who seek to bully them. Those who proposed to "reappraise" the Pinochet regime should look into the eyes of the women who are suffering from unbearable pain. They should hear what I heard in a working-class district in Santiago:

"We pray to God that if we are arrested, it will be by people in uniform. Then we would know which prison the victims have been taken to, and have a chance to visit them. But if a person is taken by the National Intelligence Department, this can result in anything: torture, murder and disappearance without a trace."

That was the Santiago I saw.

Photos by the author

F.R.G.

Marriage of convenience

A superconcern is being created in the F.R.G.: the mammoth Daimler-Benz is absorbing the Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm aerospace company (MBB)

It would have been easy to condemn the coming Elefantenhochzeit (elephants' wedding). There is more than enough criticism in the local press as it is: the new superconcern will have a monopoly in many branches of industry. It is well known that every monopoly results in higher prices and lower quality. However, let us not jump to conclusions. Instead let's acquaint ourselves with the future married couple.

The Daimler-Benz empire

Daimler is an enviable bridegroom. The Stuttgart-based joint-stock company is the leading West German industrial firm. This year its turnover amounted to 73 billion; 330,000 people work for the concern's factories scattered all over the world. Roughly half the turnover stems from the production of the famous Mercedes cars. Another 30 per cent, from the production of lorries and special-purpose vehicles. The remainder is the output of AEG, MTU and Dornier, which merged with Daimler in the mid-1980s.

Military hardware is also produced by Daimler. The concern's annual sales of lorries, buses and cross-country vehicles to the Bundeswehr and other NATO armies are worth DM 650-700 million. Half the production of its subsidiary firm Dornier with a turnover of DM 2 billion also goes to the military – the firm produces aircraft, guided missiles and naval equipment. MTU produces engines for tanks, ships, submarines, planes and helicopters – again half of its 3 billion marks' turnover. AEG's (Allgemeine Elektricitäts-Gesellschaft) military contracts amount to DM 1.7 billion; besides vacuum cleaners and washing machines, the firm produces radar components, communication facilities and other kinds of electronic equipment for the military.

These are impressive statistics. However, the overall military production does not exceed a mere 4-5 per cent of the Daimler-Benz turnover.

Drawing from the newspaper Die Zeit (F.R.G.)

Daimler's bride-to-be, MBB, is the Federal Republic's largest aerospace company. Its factories employ 38,500 people in 16 West German cities. Half the production goes to military contracts. The best known of these contracts is the production of Tornado multipurpose fighter-bomber, sales of which secure a quarter of the firm's turnover. Messerschmitt will rely on military dividends in the future as well. It is at the Messerschmitt plants that the production of the new Jäger-90 fighter to be adopted by the Luftwaffe in 1996 is planned. Hanns Arnt Vogels, chairman of MBB's board of directors, believes that by 1992 the firm's turnover will exceed DM 9 billion (as against DM 6.28 billion last year).

Meanwhile, MBB cannot boast a flourishing business – even with profits from military contracts. The problems are mainly connected with production for the civilian sector ranging from communication satellites to medical equipment. MBB's Achilles' heel is the joint West German-French project, the Airbus passenger jumbo jet.

The Airbus issue

20 years ago, when the project was started, both Paris and Bonn hoped that their jumbo jet would compete successfully with the American-made Boeing. The Airbus's peformance is in a number of aspects better than that of its American counterpart. Still, the production of the Airbus is unprofitable since prices on the world aircraft market are determined by the U.S. dollar whose rates are constantly falling. Losses are compensated for by the federal treasury: MBB is a mixed venture and the controlling interest is owned by the West German lands of Bavaria, Bremen and Hamburg. As for the heavy dependence on the government, in the opinion of the big business, this is fraught with dangerous complications.

However, Daimler-Benz has chosen its "bride" albeit with a set of prewedding conditions. First, Bonn must pledge to meet the capacities of the future superconcern (by commissioning the Jäger-90 and other projects, such as the PAH-2 anti-tank helicopter, the Ariane-5 rocket and participation in the Columbus and Hermes international space programmes). Second, MBB is obliged to check its profitability, rationalize production and reduce excessive capacities and staff. Besides, the Stuttgart managers want to make sure the Airbus project does not become a drag on the concern.

The first condition has been accepted by Bonn. The second will prove much harder to meet. Curtailing production is never popular. Moreover, one of the factories to be closed down is in Palatinate – the "political homeland" of Chancellor Kohl. However, everything indicates that the owners will manage to strike a deal with the trade unions. The third condition seemed unsuperable, since the whole racket was started so that the federal treasury could stop financing the Airbus project.

The final decision was repeatedly delayed by Bonn, and the liberal faction of the ruling coalition nearly crippled the project. At last a compromise solution was found: the state will continue to compensate for the losses, but only within certain limits and, should the dollar fall below the 1.6-mark point, Daimler will have to pick up the bill. Experts, however, do not think that likely. State guarantees will be in force until the year 2000.

The government claims that failure to merge MBB with Daimler would have resulted in even greater losses, and now at least part of the expenses will be met by the Stuttgart concern. Neither production nor marketing will be subsidized, and after 2000 Bonn will stop financing the Airbus project altogether, Gerhard Stoltenberg, the F.R.G.'s Minister of Finance, has pledged.

In its turn, Daimler-Benz believes that the project will be dropped if the losses prove excessive.

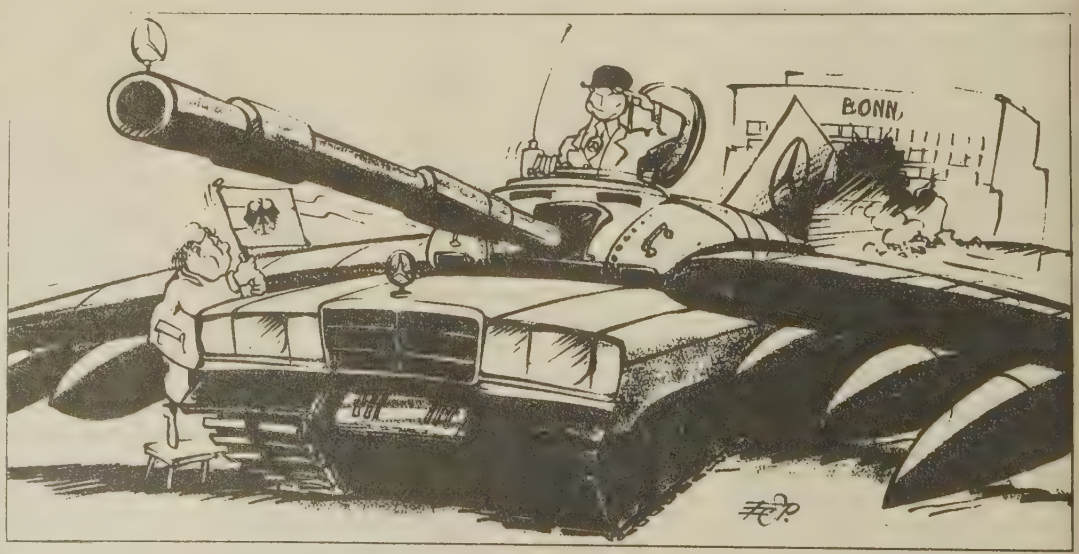
The high-tech leap

On the whole, the government-sponsored programme is acceptable to Daimler. The council of observers has instructed the board to start negotiations with the MBB leadership. By December 21, when the council assembles for an extraordinary meeting, the merger treaty with the Messerschmitt must be ready for signing. The purchase will cost Daimler DM 600-800 million and will secure its participation in one third of the firm's joint-stock capital. After the shares of Bremen, Hamburg and Bavaria have been reduced, Daimler will become effective owner of MBB.

As a result, a new superconcern with a turnover worth DM 80 billion and a 370,000-strong work force will appear in the Federal Republic (only two government-owned monopolies have comparable overall turnovers – the federal post and the railways). Its share in the country's industrial output will amount to nearly four per cent, whereas the share of the giant General Motors in the U.S. does not exceed 2.4 per cent. Almost half the nation's armaments will be produced by the new concern.

Such is the magnitude of the project. However, not all the experts, businessmen included, think the project is perfect in any way. Many believe that overexpansion of production will make the concern cumbersome.

These considerations have been thoroughly analyzed at the Daimler-Benz headquarters. But together with the element of risk involved, the merger with MBB promises advantages that outweigh apprehensions. Daimler's chief, Edzard Reuter, decided on the merger for a variety of reasons. First, the concern cannot invest everything it earns from Mercedes sales in its car-making industry. Money must be invested so as to bring in profit. There is a need to adopt the high technology that is especially abundant in the aerospace and military spheres. High-tech programmes are also generously subsidized by the state. The Ministry of Research and Technology alone is allocated DM 8.4 billion for space-related research up to the year



Drawing from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

2000. All that money will go to Daimler, the nation's aerospace monopoly. Second, by bringing together leading aerospace firms, particularly Dornier and MBB, Daimler ends the costly competition between them and parallel R&D programmes.

There is no coincidence in the fact that the merger is being accomplished today. Both Dornier and MBB are in tight corners due to the shortage of military contracts. In future, these contracts will probably shrink, especially if the disarmament process is continued. Last year Dornier's profits proved meagre, whereas MBB's production failed to make any profit at all. An inevitable question arises: is there any need for two companies producing combat aircraft, helicopters, guided missiles and mines when the sole contractor is the federal government, whose military spending is no longer as generous as it was?

Cons

Plans for a new superconcern brought about a wave of protests that swept the Federal Republic. Most of the public attention is focussed on the fact that the merger will produce the largest war industry in the country. One tenth of the turnover, that is DM 8 billion, will be backed up by military contracts. Actually, Daimler will become an arms-producing monopoly that will be able not only to dictate prices to Bonn but also participate in mapping out military programmes, adjusting them to its own needs. Wolfgang Roth, a business expert for the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and his colleague Uwe Jens, believe that "the nation's sole arms producing monopolist will be easily able to boost further military spending."

What deterrent will Bonn have against the economic behemoth? Deputies from Bremen and Hamburg, cities with high level of unemployment, will readily accept the interest of the Stuttgart managers since, for example, after the merger 6.4 per cent of Bremen's work force will be employed by the concern's factories. To disagree with the concern would in this case mean jeopardizing employment in the city.

What if the concern's chief knocks on the Chancellor's door and demands whatever he wants in order to maintain production? "The government won't be able to ignore this economic power," says Kurt Sontheimer, an economist from Munich. "The concern will acquire enough political weight to break free of government control," thinks his colleague Ehrhard Kantzenbach.

Representatives of trade unions and federal states also voiced criticism over the merger plans, fearing mass lockouts as a result of rationalizing production and changes in its structure.

Daimler's administration regards the problem from another angle, basing its attitudes on economic priorities, justified and understandable from the company's point of view. Daimler is not guilty of charity – it has refused to provide any guarantees of the status quo in employment.

Pros

The Stuttgart managers reject all criticism of their actions and are producing their own, very convincing arguments in favour of the merger. They point out that after the merger the aerospace industry will be able to compete on the international market. To counter American aerospace producers there successfully, the nation's efforts in this domain should be consolidated. The same applies to the European market, especially in the context of its unification in 1992.

On the U.S.-dominated international market, says Dr Martin Bangemann, Minister of Economics, other countries have a chance only if they are represented by a sole national producer. Several individual firms just don't fit in. And until now the two West German aerospace concerns, Dornier and MBB, have been rivals.

The magnitude of the future concern does not seem very terrible if we compare it with other aerospace giants. The U.S.-based Boeing, which dominates up to 80 per cent of the American aircraft market, has an annual turnover four times as large as that of Dornier and MBB put together.

Alfred Herrhausen, head of the Deutsche Bank and chairman of Daimler's council of observers, is not an all-out supporter of the concentration of production and capital. But in this case, he thinks, there has been no mention of internal competition, whereas on the international market, the Federal Republic evidently needs some beefing up.

The Daimler-Benz leadership also reject the charge that the concern is militarily oriented. In this connection Herrhausen points to the considerable shift in the production of MBB, Dornier and AEG towards civilian needs. An important share of Dornier's output is the production of medical instruments. Both AEG and MBB have started to spend more on commercial communication satellites. "In our work," Herrhausen emphasized, "we depart from the presumption that further progress in disarmament will curtail defence production."

Daimler is already drawing conclusions and looking for new economic priorities. Time will tell how things will develop here.

When it comes to the relation of the sacrosanct principle of free enterprise to the newly implemented merger, the situation appears far more difficult. Heinz Dürr, head of AEG and a member of the Daimler-Benz board, voiced his opinion in an interview with the weekly Die Zeit: "Not everything can be left to the whims of the market, for sometimes these whims are quite harmful... The market economy has a big disadvantage: it is dominated by short-term thinking. The processes we are now discussing, namely the development of new technologies and changes in the economic structure, are of a longer-term character. The market just can't cope with these requirements."

Advocates of the free market are particularly worried by the consolidation of efforts. The formation of a powerful conglomerate on the scale of Daimler-MBB will, in their view, undermine the political, legal and economic pillars of the West German economy. As Wolfgang Kartte, president of the Cartel Society, has said, "I'm sure that it is competition that leads to new concepts, products and markets, and not the state with its subsidies to several outsized monopolies." The president's face-saving remark, however, cannot shake his belief in the inevitability of the merger.

Perhaps the anti-monopolists and the merger's foes in the opposition tend to exaggerate the threat. My opinion is that the consolidation of aerospace efforts under a single roof is dictated by objective conditions and is likely to produce a lot of advantages, especially in the context of the growing competition on the international market. However, it must be admitted that the merger is fraught with many dangers, and that some problems remain unresolved.

Nikita Zholkver,
our own correspondent
BONN

Time to go the rest of the way

Dmitry Zgersky

It was an unusual and certainly an anomalous situation. The General Assembly's debate on Palestine had been moved to Geneva so that PLO chairman Arafat could address the session. Speaking from the U.N. rostrum in New York on December 7, Mikhail Gorbachev said of this occasion: "A representative of an organization enjoying the status of permanent observer at the United Nations was barred by the U.S. authorities from coming to New York to address the General Assembly... This happened at a time when the Palestine Liberation Organization had taken an important constructive move facilitating the search for a Middle East settlement with the participation of the U.N. Security Council."

1988 has been a dramatic and memorable year, witnessing a radical turn towards peace in the world. Several regional conflicts are to be settled shortly, and negotiations have been started to find solutions to other conflicts. But the situation in the Middle East has not changed. People are still being killed there.

Of the 159 members of the U.N., 148 voted for and two against a resolution on Palestine (one abstained and the remainder were not present). For many years the two "no" votes by Israel and the United States have been an insurmountable obstacle in the way of a comprehensive Middle East settlement and a just solution to the problem of the almost six million Palestine Arabs. It's a pity that the old principle – the minority submits to the will of the majority – does not always work in the United Nations.

Incidentally, it is not entirely true to say that the situation in the Middle East has not changed. The PLO's stand is changing. Gradually, step by step, it has taken the initiative in working for a peaceful settlement. There was a time when the PLO did not want to recognize Israel, calling it "a Zionist formation," and the Palestinians, driven to despair, believed that they could talk with it only in the language of bullets and grenades. The PLO rejected Security Council Resolution 242, which urges Israel to evacuate from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967 but does not decide the fate of the Palestinians as a people. Indeed, times are changing...

The PLO has now accepted Resolution 242, and is prepared to begin peace negotiations with Israel at an international conference on the Middle East. It has condemned terrorism and extremist actions against Israeli civilians. One further fact should be noted. At its meeting in Algiers on November 15, the Palestine National Council proclaimed the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, though without a specific territory. After that statement a Jewish organization sent a message to the PLO, proposing to govern the future state jointly with Arabs. This proposal has not been turned down. Yasser Arafat favours such Arab-Jewish cooperation.

But, unfortunately, the position of Israel and, following it, that of the United States have not materially changed. They continue to boycott the PLO, still regard it as a terrorist organization. "We are against terrorism, because we ourselves are its victims," Arafat said in an interview to Paris-Match recently. Does Tel Aviv regard the year-long Arab uprising in the occupied territories as terrorism? "It is our duty to resist the Israeli occupation troops," the PLO leader said. "The U.N. Charter recognizes the right to resistance, by any means." Far from all means are being used by the Arabs in the occupied territories. Arafat himself has urged them not to take up arms. It is still a "war of stones." Asked by an interviewer why the Arabs are using only stones, Arafat replied: "We have decided to rely on political consciousness, the morals of humanity."

Nevertheless, Israel and the United States continue to dismiss Arafat's noble calls as propaganda ploys. At present, however, there is no programme for a Middle East settlement more concrete than the one put forward by the Palestine Liberation Organization. The state proclaimed by it is by no means a chimera. The Palestinians have called for the territories to be placed under a provisional U.N. mandate and U.N. troops to be sent to protect security on the border between Israel and Arab Palestine. King Hussein of Jordan has waived his demand for the return of the West Bank. It remains to cover a short length of the way to peace in the region, from the proclamation to the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Give peace a chance!

"Give peace a chance." These words from John Lennon's song seem to be addressed today directly to the leaders of Israel and the United States. The PLO leader's appeal was no less resonant for his having been barred from speaking in New York. The world public has heard him speaking in Geneva. Would the security of Israel and the United States have been jeopardized if Arafat had delivered his speech in New York? Nothing very terrible would happen if they started negotiations with the PLO at an international conference. The situation would not deteriorate, while the chances of peace are real. "Give peace a chance" is always chanted collectively. People in the Middle East, and throughout the world, for that matter, are waiting for the day when the 159-member body will vote unanimously for peace on the Palestine issue and the Middle East problem as a whole, and all of us, including the Palestinians and the Israelis, for our common home, the Earth.

Down under: at the crossroads

From our special correspondent
Sergei Golyakov

On the threshold of the third century since the beginning of European colonization Australia is in for difficult times

A couple of apples in your luggage or a sandwich you have not eaten during your flight could get you into trouble with customs officials. Bringing any food products into Queensland, Australia's main agricultural state, is strictly prohibited. Arrivals are warned of this by the notice on a board over the garbage pail at the entrance to the arrivals hall at Brisbane International Airport. "Take your last chance to avoid trouble," the message says. "Deposit vegetable or animal products here and you will not have to pay a fine of 50,000 Australian dollars" (a rough equivalent of 26,000 rubles, according to the official exchange rate).

This strict quarantine regime is understandable in view of the fact that the production and export of meat, wool and wheat are essential to Australia's economic prosperity.

Brisbane's Mall

It is much more difficult to see the need for precautionary measures of a different kind. Cannons pointed seaward line the coast of some Australian cities. They have been deployed there to "repulse a Russian invasion." It goes without saying that no cannon is ever fired. In general, our countries have never been at war. During the Second World War Australian pilots and sailors accompanied allied convoys between British ports and Murmansk. Many were decorated with Soviet military orders.

Nevertheless, the fear of the "Russian menace" persists. Until recently any Soviet step towards areas adjacent to Australia made Canberra nervous. For instance, when the Soviet Union concluded a one-year agreement on fishing operations off the coast of the island states of Kiribati and Vanuatu, Australia's neighbours, the Australian authorities raised a furore over the "red threat."

Times are changing

Luckily, times are changing. Soviet perestroika, glasnost, democratization, the official visit of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister to Australia in March 1987, the first such visit in the history of bilateral relations, and the subsequent arrival of Australia's Prime Minister Robert Hawke in Moscow, paved the way to rapprochement. Addressing a conference of Australia's ruling Labour Party last summer, Robert Hawke expressed the wish to continue constructive, though cautious, dialogue with the U.S.S.R. despite the objections of the party's adversaries in Australia and their inability to rise above the slogans and reflexes of the 1950s and 1960s.

It seems the leaders of the United Nations Association of Australia were motivated by the wish to discard the slogans and reflexes of cold-war times when they invited a delegation of the U.S.S.R. United Nations Association to attend their national conference. The invitation was gratefully accepted. And so we arrived in Brisbane, the centre of the sunny Australian state of Queensland and one of the

three biggest Australian cities.

Both the guests and the hosts representing the branches of the Association of various Australian states, were accommodated in a quiet hostel on the campus of Grace College of the University of Queensland. Neat two-storey buildings of dark glazed brick are situated at a distance from busy thoroughfares, amid green lawns and shady trees studded with magnificent blossom these spring days. Though the residents of the campus, young girls training to be paediatricians, have left for the vacation, everything in their modest but very cosy rooms remains as it was – clothes and books, charming trinkets, family portraits, photographs of admirers and friends with touching autographs. Nobody has put anything away or locked anything up, although it was known for certain that, according to established practice, there might be temporary residents in their rooms during vacation time.

We later had many opportunities to see proof of Australians' trustingness and benevolence. Egalitarianism is widespread, though equality of living standards is decreasing. Not even the gates to the mansions of the very rich are ever locked. A business tycoon and a clerk, disdaining British conventions, are equally likely to take a seat in a taxicab next to the driver.

Sincerity, openness and kindliness were characteristic of our hosts – prominent public and political leader Mrs Heather Southcott, the Association's President, Malcolm Prowse, her assistant and the organizer of the conference, an intellectual with the build of an athlete, the ironical Tony Gelmme who acted as our guide in Brisbane, the fragile, slender Merrill Findlay, editor-in-chief of the Association's journal We the People, Stella Cornelius, a born speaker and organizer, who is responsible for peace programmes, cheerful and blooming Leony Smith from Tasmania, and a great many others.

Thanks to their efforts we have been able to see more places than it was originally arranged for us to visit. Besides Brisbane, we visited Melbourne and Sydney. These notes are based on what we were able to see and learn.

Not everybody observes bicentennial

This year is the bicentennial of the beginning of Australia's European colonization. It saw festive celebrations with naval displays, exhibitions, milling holiday crowds. Britain's advance post in the south since remote times, Australia has been a target of strong U.S. influence since the beginning of the Second World War and has of late been subjected to the impact of Japan and the Asian "tigers." At the bicentennial celebration, Australia presented itself as a unique civilization, an enclave of the West in the East.

The famous Captain Cook was born here

Indeed, Australia deserves to be called a happy land. A land of bungalows built amid vast orchards, a land where people have huge beafsteaks for lunch and are fond of taking an afternoon rest. Cities sprawl in to the countryside in Europe, America, Japan. The countryside invades cities in Australia. The Australians' enviable calm is largely explained by their closeness to nature. Several hours spent on the beach or in the bush close to one's home or office relieve tension.

I don't know whether it was by chance that the theme of leisure activities was central to Expo'88 in Brisbane. Its watchward was "Leisure in the Age of Technology." The 38 participating countries had different approaches to this problem. The U.S. pavilion was chock-full of computer games, sensors and instruments making it possible to gauge physical loads. Japan's pavilion struck one with the abundance of audio and video equipment. The Soviet pavilion included Svyatoslav Fyodorov's eye clinic with the most up-to-date equipment and a batch of models of hydrofoil vessels. The Soviet and New Zealand's pavilions had the biggest numbers of visitors. Expo'88, put together within a record period of time and reflecting amazing inventiveness, has become a highlight of the jubilee year.

Meanwhile things are not so simple as regards the jubilee. There are different opinions as to what date should be regarded as Australia Day – the day Captain Cook reached the Australian coast 218 years ago (the house in which he was born was moved to Australia from England; it looks like a toy amid the lawns of Melbourne city park), the day the British flag was hoisted by a governor near Sydney 18 years later (the anniversary observed this year) or the day in 1901 when six English colonies established the Commonwealth of Australia.

But this is not the point. The years of the rule of white settlers in Australia are not the beginning and end of its history. Australian aborigines, closely related to the Kanakas of New Caledonia, who settled in Australia 40,000 years earlier than English convicts, now make up at least one per cent of Australia's population of 16 million. (The percentage was much larger before.)

Australian aborigines do not want to have anything to do with the bicentennial. Out of protest against their rightlessness and economic plight, they refused to take part in the festivities. Showing solidarity with the aborigines, Australia's white Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Gerard Hand, supported their decision. The ministry's annual report mentions the fact that aborigines in Australian society are one of the strata of the population that is at a disadvantage. This is to put it mildly. The same report says that the aborigines' life expectancy is 20 years shorter than

that of other Australians, that child mortality for aborigines is three times that for other sections of the population, that every third aboriginal child has trachoma.

The unemployment rate among the aborigines is six times the average index. The incomes of aborigines who have jobs make up half the earnings of other citizens. The ministry has the information that most aborigines live in makeshift dwellings or in housing unsuitable for habitation. Widespread drug addiction, alcoholism, ever more frequent suicides of aborigines in prisons make the picture even gloomier.

The essence of the problem is that the aborigines, driven from their native lands and herded into reservations, have not been given legally formalized rights to this land. From the beginning of colonization to this day it has been believed that this land did not belong to anyone. The road to solving the question of compensation will open if this doctrine is abandoned. But can this be expected? Last year Australia's Prime Minister first mentioned the "historic injustice" of the white settlers with regard to aborigines. He agreed that with the arrival of English settlers aborigines have been denied the right of ownership to their land. Many regard this statement as an act of repentance. But this "repentance" has not yet been given legal substance. It is only the preamble to the law which is yet to be adopted that recognizes the fact of the aborigines' having been deprived of their land. A new commission should be set up for this purpose, and this entails bureaucratic red tape existing over centuries.

Time to change horses

One evening we were received by Queensland's Governor Sir Walter Campbell. The reception was held in a snow-white mansion situated atop a green hill and surrounded with age-old trees. The first stars appeared in the clear dark skies. Calm and tranquility reigned.

"Believe me, there is no place in the world better than Australia," the governor said. The governor would be quite right if the idea of social justice did not exist. Australia is a very rich land. It has fertile soil and abounds in iron, nickel, copper, titanium, coal, uranium, gold and diamonds. Diligence, rationality and conscientiousness have enabled the Australians to tap this wealth. More than 70 per cent of Australians own their homes. For the number of owners of automobiles, video equipment and compact discs, Australia ranks first in the world. One need only take a walk in the Mall, the pedestrian trading street in Brisbane, to see the variety of goods and services offered.

Australia is one of the ten foremost capitalist countries in terms of its level of economic development. Until recently its economic growth rate (four per cent) was among the highest in the industrialized world. The two pillars – highly developed agriculture and mining industry – ensured stable increases in the gross domestic product and in cash receipts. "Incredibly, Australia still 'rides on the back of the sheep,' much as it did in the 19th century," wrote The Times of London. According to a survey compiled by a brokerage firm, wool remains the biggest source of income in the current year, accounting for five billion Australian dollars. It is followed by coal (approximately the same value), gold (2.5 billion Australian dollars), meat (two billion) and wheat (1.8 billion). But these figures mean far more problems than they give reasons for optimism.

Australia's economic situation has deteriorated markedly in recent years, I was told by Peter Cole-Adams, associate editor of The Age, an influential Melbourne newspaper. "We flourished while the world economy and the demand for raw materials were growing. We are on the verge of bankruptcy now that this growth has stopped. It's time to change horses," he said.

Indeed, a country 80 per cent of whose exports consist of raw materials cannot count on success in the age of synthetic materials and high technologies. Australia's share of world trade has dropped from 3 per cent in 1960 to less than 1.2 per cent today. Its foreign debt now exceeds 100 billion Australian dollars. Gone are the times when mineral extraction was an easy road to riches.

"The country faces a real threat that if the economies of its neighbours – Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan – develop so swiftly and successfully Australia will fall behind and turn into a white marshland in a tempestous yellow sea," my interlocutor complained.

Changes for the worse face the Labour government with a multitude of complex problems. The course has been set towards restructuring the economy, selling out nationalized enterprises to private owners and increasing the proportion of processing industries, with the emphasis on high-tech and export branches.

Industrialists who introduce effective innovations that make it possible to manufacture competitive products can now count on financial rewards from the government. A rigorous system of state quality control, particularly on export goods, has been introduced. Biotechnology, the technology of new materials, information science, production of communication facilities and a number of other industries are developing at a faster pace.

One has the impression that all these extraordinary measures to remedy the economy concern above all politicians, industrialists, economists. Ordinary Australians, who have jobs and are pro-

The Australian pavilion at Expo'88

tected by the trade unions that unite nearly 60 per cent of the work force, are perplexed at the diagnosis of a "crisis." This can only make them want to knock back another can of ale.

We have been told by our interlocutors that Australians are in general rather sluggish. They are rarely enthusiastic about ambitious plans or carried away by high-fangled ideas. The fear of change was also clearly manifested during the referendum on the constitution, which was held while we were in Australia.

Voters were asked to state their views on four amendments to the country's fundamental law. The constitutional commission and the government expected the endorsement of the first amendment to reduce the number of elections of members of the Commonwealth parliament if their tenure were lengthened. The second amendment also concerned election. It envisaged the strict observance of the principle of all votes carrying equal weight; at present the votes of people living in rural areas in some states carry more weight than those of city dwellers. Another amendment to the constitution was aimed at consolidating the rights and powers of local government bodies. The fourth amendment deals with the extension of civil rights, such as freedom of conscience, the obligatory participation of jurors in trials and guarantees of fair compensation to those whose property is for whatever reason confiscated by the authorities.

The polling station in Brisbane City Hall was virtually empty on voting day. There was hardly anyone there except for members of the electoral committee.

"We do not expect a large turnout," admitted a man of pensionable age with a plastic card indicating that he was officer in charge and that his name was Ron Kelly. He said that, first of all, many people vote postally, which is very convenient, as there is no need to go anywhere. And then Australians dislike doing anything at Canberra's bidding. Let things remain as they are, he said.

I asked Ron Kelly for his personal opinion of the proposed amendment. He said that in principle the four amendments mean a step, albeit a modest one, towards democratic principles and civil rights. Perhaps the questions should have been formulated more clearly. But even if they had been, he would not vouch for the referendum's success, he said.

The veteran's forecast proved correct. He knew what he was talking about. The newspapers reported next morning that all four amendments had been rejected by a two-third majority.

Boys will be boys *Photos by the author*

Europe or Asia

Rosy-cheeked Leony Smith from Tasmania asked me what Soviet people know about Australia. I told her that Chekhov wrote delightedly about Australia and dreamed of travelling in this fairy-tale land. It turned out that she had never heard of Chekhov. I told her that Soviet people remember how donations for embattled Russia were collected in Australia during the Second World War. She was surprised to learn that the U.S.S.R. lost 20 million people in the war. "That's more than Australia's entire population," she exclaimed, surprised. Both of us knew about James Cook and Katharine Susannah Prichard, Alan Marshall and Nobel Prize winner Patrick White. But when I mentioned her compatriot Freda Brown, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation over many years, Leony was puzzled again. She hadn't the least suspicion that such a federation existed. Then "Crocodile Dundee" cropped up. We were both delighted. "Was the film shown in your country? That's marvellous," Leony exclaimed happily.

The likable country bumpkin nicknamed "Crocodile" Dundee had performed another miracle. In no time he had destroyed the barrier of misunderstanding and alienation between us. Leony no longer regarded me as a stranger as I at least knew the most essential things about her native country.

There is a streak of rebelliousness and a trailblazing spirit in Australians. They might seem arrogant and insolent at times. But take a closer look at an Australian and you will see his openness and responsiveness to ordinary human feelings. If you speak kindly of what is dear to Australians, they will appreciate it.

And how can it be otherwise in a country made up of immigrants which remains one of the biggest such countries to this day. Almost half the residents of Australia were either born outside Australia or one of their parents comes from abroad. In order to coexist and think of themselves as a single whole, people have to find a common language, adjust and show tolerance and benevolence. And just think how many different temperaments, traditions, cultures and customs have combined to form the Australian people. Aside from settlers from Great Britain and Ireland, over a million Italians, more than 600 thousand Germans, about half a million Greeks, to say nothing of Yugoslavs, Russians and Ukrainians, have settled in Australia. After many decades during which only white immigrants were eligible, approximately half of the current influx comes from Asia.

Australia now seems to be looking for an identity. A creature of the 19th and 20th centuries, it is just beginning to be aware of itself as a single independent nation.

What sort of future can it look forward to? Different forecasts have been made in the bicentennial year. Some Western analysts hold that by force of its geographical location and a steady influx of immigrants from the neighbouring countries, Australia will ultimately change its orientation and land up in the Asian orbit to become the West's most Asian country. (To draw an analogy, Japan is regarded as the East's most Westernized country). It is a curious hypothesis. But you would be ill-advised to try to find out how Australians feel about it. At the height of the summer, when Christmas and New Year are drawing nearer, business life in the country is virtually at a standstill. Newspapers are full of balls and parties, cooking and fashions. Nobody is interested in politics.

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Sadruddin Aga-Khan:

I am no prophet

The coordinator of the U.N. humanitarian and economic assistance programmes relating to Afghanistan, Prince **Sadruddin Aga-Khan,** answers questions from N.T.

What are the purposes of the programme that you coordinate?

Our job is to create conditions conducive to the return of Afghanistan to normal life. This is not a political activity, and it is different from the U.N. mediating mission that helped bring about the Geneva Accords. We merely give economic and social assistance to the people of Afghanistan. We supply them with medicines and food, and are helping set up a seed reserve.

What has already been done?

In particular, we have involved in our programme the World Health Organization, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund and the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Missions have been sent to various parts of Afghanistan to identify the most pressing needs. Food was sent to areas where the threat of a food crisis had emerged. Other parts of the country were short of seed grain and we sent some there. The Children's Fund sent medicines and vaccines for children. The scale of our assistance has up to now been modest, but we are gradually expanding it.

Members of your staff are reported to have formed teams which will be removing mines from highways. Who are they made up of?

We must help the refugees return to Afghanistan. This is a daunting task and it requires the participation of the entire international community. Until recently there were 5 million refugees. Of that number 3 million were in Pakistan and the rest in Iran. It is hard to say how many Afghans have returned home as there are no accurate statistics, but according to the latest reports by the Afghan government, 200,000 people have returned, largely to Herat in the west of the country.

Mines are being removed from the highways by Afghans themselves. As a rule, they are people who are familiar with the areas concerned, some of them coming from refugee camps. They travel ahead of the refugees and clear paths across mine fields. They are instructed by members of our staff.

Are mines the only obstacle to the return of the refugees, in your view? Will they be able to return once all mines have been removed?

After the Geneva Accords were signed, the assumption was that the refugees would begin to return immediately, but that did not happen. It is hoped that they will start returning in the spring and summer.

I asked the refugees about their idea of conditions for their return. They told me that they want guarnatees that their safety, dignity and honour will be respected. Understandably, if the risk of being caught in cross fire persists they will be reluctant to go back.

We must pave the way for their return, but unfortunately we have no magic wand to silence the guns and clear away the mines. Reconciling the warring factions is within the competence of the U.N. Secretary-General and is not related to our programme, but we must take action too, realistically and flexibly, albeit on a small scale. We must identify areas where calm has been restored and extend the appropriate assistance by providing the means to restore the local economy so as to enable people to return. We are in a hurry and are trying to meet the deadlines. We are even being reproached about that, although the U.N. is usually criticized for being slow. In some areas people must be helped to return to normal life now, as any delays will make the situation worse. In order to make international programmes effective we have to deal with local administrations, whose structure differs from one region to another. Afghanistan has become decentralized and the problems we are encountering are fairly obvious.

As I see it, the idea of your programmes is to deal with the effects of the war. Have you taken any action on behalf of the prisoners of war? Does your programme provide for alleviating the plight of more than 300 Soviet POWs?

That problem is entirely within the competence of the International Red Cross, although POWs and those listed missing are of course a humanitarian problem. I agree that we must know what their present situation is and whether they are alive. Their relatives cannot be allowed to fear for their lives indefinitely, and that goes for both Soviet and Afghan families in equal measure.

What further course will events take? Could you give your own estimate?

I do not want to prophesy. As you know, regional problems are very complex indeed, as different interests clash.

We must create conditions conducive to the settlement of outstanding problems in order to reach an early agreement on the future of the country. The Afghans have sufficient resources and imagination, pride and courage. All these traits must be focussed in a search for formulas that would rule out further suffering.

In the wake of such a protracted conflict, the leaders of all sides must think above all of their people's interests rather than their own. What we need is a policy that cares for the individual.

Interviewer:
Boris Baikarei

Let us popularize legal knowledge

Igor Isayev, LL.D.

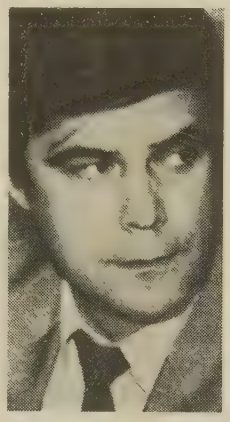
I think that the term "law-governed state," shorn of the quotation marks, initially baffled lawyers. This reaction on the part of specialists in legal matters gives grounds to presume that few of them believed in the possibility of any real supremacy of the law in our society, as justice, among other things, had been much trampled on. Ordinary citizens with no legal training took the reform for granted, since power in a law-governed state should clearly belong to the law and not to the individual. That is common sense, pure and simple. Common sense, however, cannot be a substitute for knowledge. The idea of a universal legal education programme is to a large extent necessitated by the change in the mass consciousnes taking place in the period of perestroika.

Consequently, the universal legal education programme will have to be massive, drawing virtually all our citizens into learning, discussing, elaborating and applying the law. The aim is to develop the now immature legal consciousness of society.

The phrase "law-governed state," which was frowned on only recently, is now being read into an absolutely different social context. The individual, his interests and his living and working conditions are becoming, more than ever before, the chief concern of our society and the country.

The need to develop and improve the legal situation is also necessitated by economic considerations. The revival in our economy of self-supporting, commercial and self-organizational principles can only be carried out in the context of expanding market relations. The market and many independent economic interests operating within its framework come together in contracts, that is, units of law. This raises a vast number of legal issues that must be analyzed and resolved.

We are used to drawing the sort of distinction whereby we say that different social groups and sections of the population need different types of legal education. This approach once seemed entirely natural. The levels of legal proficiency of deputies to supreme legislative bodies and heads of government departments (I am not talking of deputies with legal training) differ both in the degree of professional interest and the range of problems tackled from the proficiency in law of managers or deputies of rural Soviets. At the foot of this pyramid of legal proficiency was the general public who, first of all, need to know their rights and obligations. The above three-tier legal education system, which seemed natural only yesterday, cannot now be considered satisfactory. In my opinion, it is both the right and the duty of each individual to be well informed on our laws without restrictions.



A uniform method or a variety of forms?

Is an integrated education programme necessary for this purpose? We have extensive experience of the work of the political education system, and this experience warns against rigid uniformity. The attempt to elaborate a single detailed educational programme seems wide of the mark here. It is time we became accustomed to alternative approaches. Does that mean pluralism? Yes. Only a variety of forms, methods and approaches to legal education can produce real results. We need to formulate general objectives and ideas: democratization of our economic and political systems, definition of problem areas in legal knowedge and respect for the law, constitutional guarantees and observance of the principle of legality...

Legal language must be clear and, most importantly, authoritative to all citizens of the state. I am not reducing everything to the question of legal literacy, but is it not legal illiteracy that is to blame in some measure for the grave situations that have arisen in Transcaucasia and the Baltic republics? Does not a certain legal naivety encourage some conflicts, particularly if they concern regional boundaries, or clashes between local ethnic interests and nationwide values?

The universal education system, like any other, tends to produce its own organizational centre, thrashed out by conflicting spheres of ideological influence in law departments, colleges and universities and various public education, self-supporting and cooperative organizations. This is only to be expected. Legal education can take various forms: houses of legal knowledge and legal propaganda (borrowing from the experience of the 1920s), lectures, seminars, methodological literature... The only thing that is inconceivable is a textbook that is common for all and for all time.

One further remark. The aim of the universal legal education programme, to my mind, should be not only legal but also moral education. This is not going to be achieved quickly or on a planned basis. And not all of us will be able to change our established legal and moral outlooks. We must pin our hopes on the morally active and healthy forces of society, on attaining democracy, on free debates and referendums, that is, those levers that can be used by citizens to influence legislators.

Sociology: myths and reality

Gennady Batygin, Doctor of Philosophy

In one of our medium-sized cities, sociologists conducted a public opinion poll recently by the Kish method, selecting families and interviewees within the families, at random. To be more specific, every 500th address was picked out from voters' rolls and services of the local teacher-training institute's students enlisted in conducting the poll.

...Two girl students find the needed address with some difficulty, push the doorbell button, and sociology begins.

"How do you do," the bolder girl says, holding onto her companion for support, "the Institute of Sociological Research jointly with a number of public organizations is conducting a public opinion poll with a view to giving an all-round study to your habits and living conditions and working out the appropriate recommendations..."

A man in an undershirt, with hairy shoulders stares at them, lost in thought. Presently his wife comes up front, pressing the man back into a narrow corridor. "Come on in, girls, there's no one to be afraid of here."

With questionnaires in hand, the interviewers walk into the apartment and say they would like to talk with the member of the family whose name precedes the others alphabetically. The man falls to thinking again and looks at his wife. When it finally dawns upon him that the family member in question is Borka, he bursts out laughing.

"Borka is out hanging around somewhere, you may consider yourself lucky... The Kish method, you say? Sounds awfully scientific. OK, girls, won't you sit down, and let's fill this form out together."

To the squeak of a yellow street lamp swinging in the wind outside the rain-bespatted window, the interviewers, seated at a round table, ask their hosts all sorts of questions such as "Do you like your work?", "Do you have any problems in your family?", "What newspapers do you subscribe to, and do you read much in general?"

"What do you think about our municipal transport? – one of the questions was. "Is it good, bad, could be better, couldn't be worse, or no comment?"

"What's your idea of happiness?"

"Do you own a vacuum cleaner? If not, are you planning to buy one?"

As the questionnaire fills up, the conversation begins to fly off at a tangent, to gain momentum, to grow out of the prepared "scenario" of its own accord – and suddenly total strangers who are hardly ever to meet again arrive at mutual confidence and understanding.

Sipping at her tea, the hostess sadly recalls Vitya and her living in a barrack with sagging ceilings, long corridors, kerosene stoves, and a washtub which served as a crib for little Borka. She recalls her late mother-in-law, her plans to go to college which have never materialized.

The questionnaire form lies on a plush tablecloth forgotten – just a scrap of paper rendered meaningless by life's real problems.

At this stage, the sociological myth – an abstract schematic concept far removed from life and, in fact, an entity in its own right – is just beginning to take shape. But after the "initial information" has been gathered, sheaves of questionnaires have returned to the Institute and other "public organizations" filled in, living people cease to exist, as it were, giving way to ticks and codes which are then converted into columns of figures.

> The very idea of seeking out the truth, studying real processes of public life, of gathering concrete information through opinion polls came into conflict with the ideology of lies and violence...

Fifty-seven per cent of those polled have turned out to be well pleased with their lives. This ought to set us thinking about what the figure suggests. As John Stuart Mills, a classic of sociology, put it, "I'd rather be a disgruntled human being than a contented pig; a disgruntled Socrates rather than a contented fool."

The myth creates a superstitious belief in the statistics thus obtained really being what sociological research is all about; after all, each figure looks convincing and carries an almost magic potential for suggesting its own correctness and infallibility. Somehow we have a greater faith in numerals than in any other parts of speech.

And what about the frank "round-table" talk, the tiny room in the barrack, the clothes lines, the baby sleeping in a washtub? They have disappeared leaving behind only a circle in the questionnaire meaning "satisfied."

Truth will out. The sociology myth readily reveals its innermost secret.The questionnaire is not merely a set of questions aimed at understanding a person and making his life better; it is a Document, a form in which the authorities descend to everyday life seeking to place, generalize and analyze ordinary men and women in the aggregate. As the bearer and distributor of the questionnaire, the sociologist is automatically regarded by the public as a representative of the powers-that-be; in this capacity he cannot help towering above "the crowd," and deems it his duty to preach at people and even to force them to be happy, if necessary.

The names and lives of individuals are not of interest to the sociologist, thank God. The sociologist deals with "various categories of the public," "the people," "the working people," "society at large." In these faceless generalizations, however, sociological questionnaires compare favourably to personnel dossiers asking all sorts of prying questions like: "What is

your social origin?", "Have you or your relatives ever been taken prisoner of war or interned?", "Do you have relatives abroad?"

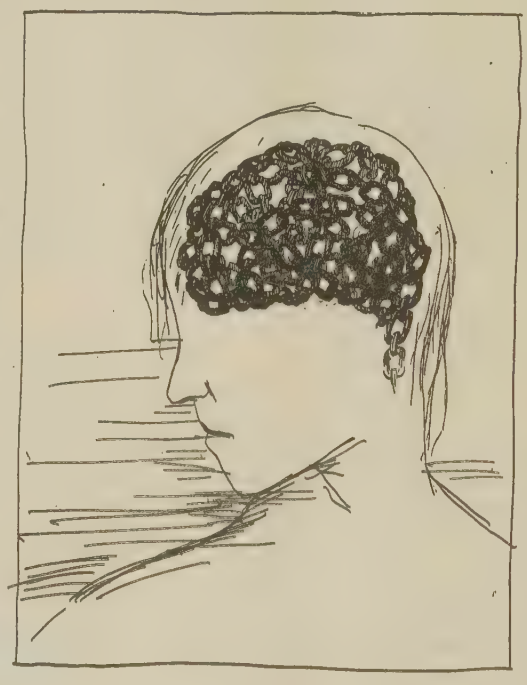
Nevertheless, sociological questionnaires can be made more "personal" at will. Some overenthusiastic sociologists suggest that the usual passport be supplemented with a sociological identification certificate containing information (revealed by means of scientific testing) on its bearer's scale of values, attitude to superiors, relations with wife, excitability and on how regularly he reads the Ogonyok magazine. The possibilities for that are truly boundless, and the sociological myth is still waiting to come into its own.

In the meantime our obsession with questionnaires is a transformation of sorts of the well-known slogan: "Everything in the name of man, for the benefit of man." No man must be left out of account, everyone must be entered in the social register. Sociologists see society as a huge phantasmagoric cabinet, pyramid-shaped, with innumerable "pigeonholes" containing "human material" sorted out into social categories.

Take collective farmers, for instance. They have a backward form of ownership of the means of production, and haven't yet rid themselves of all the survivals of the past. On the other hand, the working class is the hegemon. This is the advanced class, but some of its representatives have individual shortcomings. As for the intelligentsia, it is neither fish nor fowl, just a vacillating stratum of society prone to wavering and pensiveness.

Of late, the cabinet has been sprouting extensions, losing its severe monumentality and acquiring a freakish decadent shape. What pigeonholes are to be given over to the "Arkhangelsk muzhik" or to the cooperator, for instance?

In the early 1960s, the vigorous advocates of sociology were labelled "anti-Marxists," although they shared their critics' contemplation of the world and never denied the need to correct whatever shortcomings there were for the sake of the new universal truth and to select a straighter road to the ultimate objective of progress. Sociology took quite a while to work out its methodology and ethics, but already in its early stage it was an alternative to totalitarianism, an alternative based on scientific honesty and incorruptibility.



Drawing by Maria Ryzhikova

Those who took upon themselves the role of the guards on the ideological "watch-tower" were accustomed to kow-towing to the Party leadership and to eulogizing its wisdom in complicated philosophical language. They simply couldn't put up with others who had taken "the thaw" seriously and made the ideas of the 20th Congress their own.

The very idea of seeking out the truth, of studying real processes of public life, of gathering concrete information through opinion polls came into conflict with the ideology of lies and violence, the main sociological conclusion of which, "Life has become better and more happy," was not subject to checking.

Obviously those who "guarded the purity of the Marxist idea" vigorously condemned the attempt to find out the people's views on certain issues as bourgeois objectivism. After all, their executive position in the scientific and administrative hierarchy was at stake. Therefore the first polls conducted in the early 1960s marked a real revolution in social science. Although the pollsters still used old phraseology, the very emphasis on the authenticity of conclusions and the reliance on facts were a threat to political obscurantism.

Nevertheless those who "manned" the "watch-tower" had no cause for worry. Reaction, rampant since the early 1970s, smothered the socilogical thought first and foremost, and form-filling promptly became part of the arsenal of bureaucratic methods. What's more, it developed into a mania. Polls were conducted by faculties of philosophy and scientific communism, by shoe stores, clubs and cinemas, marriage registration bureaus, newspaper editorial boards, house management offices. Public opinion services, laboratories and institutes began to mushroom. Today every district Party committee runs a sociological service of its own and makes a point of conducting regular polls.

The bureaucrats welcomed this ersatz sociology. Small wonder, too: the practice of getting people fill in questionnaires from time to time ensures that the requisite information feeds back from the masses, makes it possible to analyze the requirements of the broad sections of the public and to work out effective recommendations for eliminating the shortcomings revealed. As for the compilation of the questionnaires, any civil servant has long become a skilled hand at that.

The practice of circulating all sorts of questionnaires to members of the public is nothing new. It dates back to the early years of Soviet power. Information on the citizens' political loyalty as well as class origin was gathered under the motto "Reach Everyone." At that time all this was not referred to as sociological research; neither was it considered necessary to disguise a test of political loyalty with a veil of "scientific" mist (as is the case now). In 1921, the Agitation and Propaganda Newsletter carried a standard questionnaire which asked, in particular: "Have you read any anti-socialist books? If yes, which ones?"

Be that as it may, sociology has gained recognition. The large-scale imitation sociological studies now in progress amount to a manifest expression of the administrative-bureaucratic ambition to "keep everything accounted for and under control." It is not for nothing that sociologists are identified with inspectors, fortune-tellers and informers. Until quite recently one could speak his mind under his breath only,

and before those one had absolute trust in. Being concerned with the "inner man," a sociologist gains an insight into a world far removed from official ideals, a world of negative attitudes and emotions which one had better keep to himself. This logic led, first, to banning the study of negative emotions (everyone's happy!) and, second, to more and more research subjects in social sciences being made classified information. Many took advantage of a situation where the absence of adequate scientific control enabled young hopefuls to take out their learned degrees in applied sociology without much effort – and then to finish off the science of sociology (something even the "dinosaurs" of historical and dialectical materialism had failed to do). Wasn't it sheer absurdity to conceal from the people the information they had supplied themselves?

As a result, there promptly formed a socilogical "establishment" which imparted academism and pomposity to the questionnaire circulation craze. Sociologists no longer bother to gather information, questionnaires are circulated to subordinate organizations through Party bodies, with filling-in instructions enclosed and return dates indicated. At a conservative estimate, about 1.5-2 million people are polled in the country today. Hundreds of thousands of tables are filed and piled up somewhere. Once sociologists collected funny questions like: "What do your wife and you engage in when left tete-à-tete?" and optional answers to be ticked off such as: "Watch television", "Discuss a book we've read". On another occasion, a pollee was asked to specify the sexes of his mother-in-law, father-in-law, grandmother and grandfather... Other questions are no laughing matter. When asked, "Have you done your own perestroika already?" you feel the last of your optimism evaporating.

The increasing mistification of sociological studies leaves ever less room for science, stifles thought more efficiently than reprimands and bans do

As a matter of fact, it is not the questions that matter. They often make sense and can be quite interesting, really. The thing is that genuine sociology which seeks to understand what makes society tick is now in a worse position than even at the time of political labels being stuck to it. The increasing mystification of sociological studies leaves ever less room for science, stifles thought more efficiently than reprimands and bans do.

And still...

The older generation of sociologists remember only too well that a public expression of discontent – even with one's Soviet-made vacuum cleaner, let alone the Soviet way of life – could cost one a long prison term under notorious Article 58 of the Criminal Code. It hardly makes any difference that we had no vacuum cleaners then; what does is that we had no right to a personal opinion. We were still to learn to speak our minds. Khrushchev's "thaw," which brought Soviet sociology back to life became a new lesson in sociological thinking, a test for those who had tried to learn free thinking "without attending lectures."

Perestroika promoted sociology to its second year of training and retraining. It gives us another chance to share our idea of happiness and to comment on the operation of our vacuum cleaners – fearlessly this time. The procrustean beds of "unanimity" and universal contentment are gradually crumbling. A new social atmosphere, the only kind of atmosphere fit for sociology to live in – that of free thinking and personal sovereignty – is being created. People do not merely answer questions, they overcome their fear and learn to see things their own way. So far, private opinions are few and far between. In most cases people express "public opinion" instead of their own – not so much out of fear as out of inertia. There is an element of truth in the rather unfortunate word combination "public opinion poll": indeed, pollsters are after "public," not "private" opinion. We merely convey this opinion like the radio which picks up and reproduces what the invisible waves bring. Actually, it is not we who do the speaking; we are merely used by others to speak with because, if unprompted, we are dumb creatures. Even if we do have a private opinion, we tend to disapprove of it.

In the final analysis, a sociologist is not much different from anyone he undertakes to make a study of, or even to educate. The leaden and impenetrable social atmosphere fosters leaden sociologism.

Sociologism is not a mere figment, a theoretical abstraction. It is a set of stereotyped concepts and prejudices which depersonalize man and make him obedient to "supreme will." He is supposed to think, speak and act in accordance with instructions, covert and overt, explicit and implicit dictated by the soulless and omnipotent bureaucratic machine. Man becomes a "cog" doomed to rolling in the name of mystified "public interests" inseparable from the superiors' instructions.

Sociologism postulates leaden causality, prescribes awards and punishments; as a result, men are reduced to infinitesimal and ever dwindling points distinguishable from one another only by their coordinates, imposed from above, and by their social roles which are not of their own choice. In sociology it is considered natural to sort people out in accordance with "independent variables" such as class affiliation, occupation, age, standard of education. Whether you want it or not, you have to act your part, to go out onto the stage and to go through the prescribed motions. Man ceases to be his own master.

This is where the sociological myth begins. A person working in the trading network is inevitably referred to as a scrounger; a professor is reputed to be an intellectual regardless of his actual standard of intelligence; all executive officials are bureaucrats, of course; all militiamen – boors; all men – male chauvinists; Muscovites – a privileged community; young people – ill-bred; Russians – patient... An individual shoulders a heavy responsibility – not for himself but for the part he plays, and the responsibility is all his, not the author's. Most people find it more convenient to conform than to remain themselves. Man turns into a "homo sociologicum."

The most annoying and seemingly incredible thing is that the "homo sociologicum" enters the social atmosphere of renovation and perestroika without the slightest embarrassment, as ready to conform as ever. The categorizing of people continues. The answer to the sociological question: "Have you done your own perestroika on time?" is obvious. Values are reappraised. What was lauded to the skies but yesterday is vigorously renounced today. Like an experienced actor who tries "to live the part," the "homo sociologicum" is sincere and honest in following the slightest changes in objective reality. While excelling at mimicry, he remains true to his subservient type and itching to lick his strong master's hand...

On the assumption that man is a product of his surroundings, sociologism offers its own classification of those opposed to perestroika, emphasizing not their personal stands, but their slot in the social hierarchy. Someone has put the number of bureaucrats in our country at 18 million. They certainly cherish their lucrative jobs and are not going to abandon them. As to the ordinary people and those who enjoy no privileges, they are all for perestroika. Granting this to be true, it would be only logical to presume that after the ordinary people take over the privileges they will think differently, while the expropriated bureaucrats will "reform."

Are we really doomed to being products of our social envi-

onment, of inexorable social consequences? Why do we hold on so tenaciously to the tradition of regarding people as "representatives" – of a class, a stratum, of society as a whole? Is free will confined to a tiny cog of social machinery?

As a well-known maxim goes, "One cannot live in society and be free from society." The idea lends itself to a wide range of interpretations, the most straightforward one being: if I can't be free from society, I shall do as everyone else does: be honest if others are; tell lies and take bribes if others do; and mend my ways if the rest of them do.

As it depersonalizes the responsibility of man, sociologism ascribes to him "social guilt" for occupying a certain slot in the system. The word "element," one of the most frequently used ones in the witch-hunters' vocabulary, is particularly indicative in this respect. Once applied to a person (and you can call anyone an "element") it immediately gave rise to the suspicion that the person in question expressed the interests of some dark forces, all the more so if he was of a certain social origin, possessed a certain property status and belonged to a certain profession. His primordial guilt, which lay in his origin, and his "objective" interests which he wasn't even aware of, were already known up there, on the top of the social pyramid. Those who manipulated the masses usurped the right to decide the suspect's fate without bothering to adduce any proof of his guilt. During one of the last outbursts of Stalin's political paranoia, one only had to possess a medical doctor's diploma to fall into the "enemy of the people" category.

Mass repressions have receded into the past, but the sociological pattern of old remains; all the reservations appealig to the human factor do not cancel out the logic of the myth in accordance with which an individual is only a piece of raw material processed to fit a "whole." Leaden sociologism does not conceal its grey heaviness, its tough impenetrability and its tenacity of life. It calls for a heavy-handed leader to shepherd the inert human flock to happiness and to the bright future.

Why do we hold on so tenaciously to the tradition of regarding people as "representatives" – of a class, a stratum, of society as a whole?

Those who believe in the need for a forceful transformation of life do not have only society in mind. They aspire to a logical consummation in practice, of Utopian ideas, of the Enlightenment ideology which sees man as "the king of the Universe."

The 20th century has provided ample food for thought over the problems connencted with the transformation of nature and society. Having come to hate the uncontrollable spontaneity of being, man tried to submit natural and social processes, to bring order and system not only into "masses," but into the very "substance of existence." The author of this amazing word – Andrei Platonov – sensed more keenly than anyone else the throbbing of life in the seemingly dead material which, nevertheless, is in rhythmical mechanical motion. The revolutionary impulse to build up a well-balanced and harmonious world helped merge dead and living nature into a perfectly organized metal creature, the locomotive, another image created and animated by Platonov. The "locomotive," a dynamic symbol of the epoch, manifestly epitomized man's domination over the world which was doomed to rolling along the route set by man, the only alternative being destruction.

"Our locomotive, fly like light
To Communism! Keep steady!
We're on the track we know is right,
Our guns are at the ready."

The trouble is that the "substance of existence" appears docile and passive, possesses no breaking, compression and tensile strength, and keeps silent for the time being. Hence the transformer's confidence of impunity, all the more so that he means well. The romanticism of revolutionary self-sacrifice, the delirious joy of "Sturm und Drang" leaves no room for doubt as to whether the track the locomotive is darting along is right.

It turns out one fine morning that recompense awaits the transformers precisely at the point they have been so eager to reach. This is only logical. "The cunning of history," discovered by Hegel, consists precisely in the fact that people attain their ends by a strenuous effort, over "the resistance of material." Unfortuantely, it is only after they had finally got there that they see there is no turning back, as the Absolute Spirit looks on, chuckling, from the fourth dimension.

We tend to blame anything or anyone but ourselves for what we have done wrong. "Occasional mistakes," "survivals of the past," "intrigues of secret services," "personality cult," "voluntarism," "the stagnation period" – all this is only a fraction of the vocabulary intended to justify what has happened and to prove our personal alibi. Obsession with the idea of total transformation turns people themselves into a viscous mass, an inert and pliable human material. It seems beyond us to put in question the possibility of man's domination over nature, to admit our defeat in the face of the unattainable greatness of the Universe, and thus to gain our freedom and to give our life a meaning.

The sociology myth is turning into a mirage. The second half of the eighties will go down in history as the period of renovation of society and man, as a period of the renovation of sociology. What this period will end with is anybody's guess. It all depends on how soon we shall change over from mimicry to freedom and how soon we shall build up a law-governed state based on the sovereignty of the individual.

"Let us squeeze the slave out of ourselves drop by drop" is easier said than done. And what if the slave in us does not want to be squeezed out, what if he wants to lie low, to camouflage himself as "a product of the social environment," and hates all those who would not put up with this environment? Be that as it may, removing the administrative-bureaucratic barriers is not enough. It will take years and even decades to form political culture and ethics based on personal responsibility and personal choice because social relations in our country are largely marked by traits of pre-capitalist formations assuming the aspect of socialism. We certainly have strongly pronounced elements of Oriental despotism, tribal connections and political clanishness. In the absence of the market economy and the appropriate legal system, social relations based on violence are certain to be continuously reproduced.

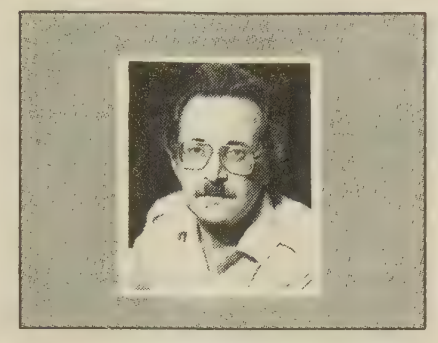
Like in any sphere, there is a choice of two roads to take here – one narrow, the other broad. One can view the world with scientific detachment, objectively as it were, while remaining in the ivory tower. The usefulness of such an approach is indisputable. Its adepts can always say: "I'm in the clear. I wasn't there, I've got an alibi." But you cannot spy on life through the keyhole.

This leaves the second, narrow, road. Those who take it are supposed to regard the study of life as their calling, to combine scientific and ethical visions of the world, to convert science from an "immediate productive force" into an ethos. In a word, a scientist should always be after the truth, not a semblance of the truth. This narrow road is the only road to moral and biological survival, and there is no alternative to it.

We are learning to live in the atmosphere of renovation, and we are learning our lessons the hard way. Like decorative birds which have been kept in cages so long that they have forgotten how to fly, sociologists are flapping their wings, hopping, but cannot take off. They yearn to get back into their cage where there is always enough corn to peck at.

We have to make our choice again, and someone clever may have the following to say about us in the 21st century: "They should have done it this way..."

JUNIOR WORLD



Children and commandments

Among the themes popular in current discussions in the media are "Children and money" and "Children and consumerism." I would like to suggest the theme of "Children and commandments" for discussion. What do you think: if children do not get any religious instruction do they need to know any commandments? Or perhaps we should leave them to their own devices and hope that they will eventually grasp the eternal truths themselves? Some will grasp them, others won't, but at any rate it will be their own business.

"Commandment" is a difficult word for a contemporary individual. A long time ago the Italian film "The Devil and the Ten Commandments" was playing here in Moscow. It consisted of a series of comic novellas. An acquaintance of mine was working in the F.R.G. at the time and when she came to Moscow for a breif visit she invited me to go and see it. I was surprised by her invitation. Why should she see it here, I thought. Of course they've cut it to ribbons. But we went anyway and after the film she told me that it was exactly as she had thought it would be. One novella was cut here and another in the F.R.G. What was considered too explicit a love scene was deleted here and what was considered offensive to religious sentiments was cut there. Both sides, however, showed the same readiness to edit the commandments. It did not really matter to them whether there were ten, nine or five of them.

The commandments and, indeed, any moral rules have been severely compromised in the public mind in this country. For many years each autumn every paper wrote about the "first commandment of the tiller of the soil." At some moments in our history that commandment required that the tiller of the soil give all the wheat to the state even if it meant dying of hunger. Later came the embarrassment of the Moral Code of the Builder of Communism, a selection of pompous and badly edited phrases. When that code was proclaimed the theorists maintained that the positive assertion inherent in it made it far superior to the negative assertion of the Biblical "thou shalt not kill," "thou shalt not steal." Printed or calligraphed on red plywood, and covered by glass or simply framed, the world's best texts of the code were here, there, and everywhere. It now takes an effort to recall what was actually written on the red plywood. Ideological chimeras are short-lived.

But is all that now really in the past? Every spring an estimated three million boys and girls across the country learn by heart the Rules of Young Pioneers, a kind of set of commandments for children. But commandments only work if they are known. It is impossible to learn the Rules of Young Pioneers. Nobody really knows them, nor are they meant to be learnt or to provide guidance. The most harmful thing imaginable, educationally speaking, is a law that does not work. The idea of lawlessness, of open and unpunishable disregard for a proclaimed law is ingrained in the conscience and the subconscience of our children, sometimes forever. After the damage has been done and the minds of children have been corrupted, it is too late to try to reverse the damage. Attempts to make adolescents aware of the need to respect the law, be they half-hearted or impassioned, seem pathetic. Conferences and symposia on promoting legal awareness fail to achieve their purpose, and children are rebuked for their lack of respect for the law.

The above appears to be the overall pattern of education today. First the souls of children are corrupted to the limit, their abilities and all that is original in them are stamped out, and their desire to love, believe, and hope is nipped in the bud; and after all that has been done, frantic attempts are made to re-educate children who are much abused in the process.

We have now finally come to appreciate the importance of universal and eternal humanitarian values, but society at large is still at a loss as to what they really are. The usual formula is "thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, etc." That nebulous "etc." to all intents and purposes makes up the content of our ethics today, but can anyone give a child spiritual instruction relying on that pathetic "etc."? To make matters worse, the hackles of our leading educational theorists rise at the very word "commandment." As soon as we recall it the leading pedagogical journal Narodnoye Obrazovaniye issues a warning: you are talking about commandments... Does it not sound like "the sermon of Moses on the Mount"? That particular record of illiteracy was set in the journal by a member of the Pedagogical Academy, Boris Likhachev. It does not matter to him that the Mount sermon was spoken by Jesus Christ. The idea is to hurt the opponent.

The ethics and logic of fighting dissidence and the ethics of protecting corporate interests rather than ideas are well advanced and their commandments are closely guarded and are not to be violated. While the theorists shy away from the very notion of commandments, the following takes place in the minds of children. A fourteen-year-old girl, who comes from a family of "ordinary workers," had this to say about herself, and I quote from a newspaper article: "I can see that all around me people profess only two laws: 'if you want to get on in life you've got to help yourself,' and 'you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours.'"

So much for the Rules of Young Pioneers, the Moral Code, and the Ten Commandments, but curiously enough, the two laws that so appall the young girl are not really all that terrible. Any member of a cooperative enterprise will now tell you that they are exactly what his work is all about. The girl is tormented not by the rules of enterprise so badly needed by the country now, but by the discrepancy between what she has been taught at school and what she sees in real life. Here is another quote from her letter: "Deep down inside I still believe. I still believe in fairy tale princes, love and happiness. Perhaps someone will come along and show me that I am wrong, but I don't believe it will happen. Only please don't give me all that talk about my spiritual depravity. I have got a big soul, but seeing the way things are around me I cannot think otherwise."

We all have a big debt to repay to our children. It is our duty to give them such an ambience that they are able to learn from it, and not from texts calligraphed on red plywood, that the true commandments of human life are the same in books, at school, and in real life.

But still, what are those commandments?

Simon Soloveichik

Bonds, shares, stock exchange and the forint

New features in Hungarian finance

Vladimir Gerasimov

The bulky furniture and the bronze candelabra on the stairs are gone. Modern offices with reddish panelling trimmed with gold-coloured anodized steel have transformed the interior of the National Bank of Hungary. Formerly, flicking through wads of banknotes with their fingers and expertly grasping a dozen such wads in a twinkling, with amazing promptness and accuracy, the impeccably polite bank clerks totted up the contents of the national coffers. Now computers noiselessly and swiftly deposit the necessary amounts of banknotes on the tray. Though there are still armoured vehicles at the service entrance and armed guards in attendance (a bank is a bank after all, the more so if it is of national importance), behind the walls ornamented with openwork stucco molding, the replacement of furniture is not the only change. Now the sole objective of the bank is to form and implement the financial and budgetary policy of the socialist state. This means abandoning the practice of direct funding to enterprises.

Issuing money, regulating the amount of money in circulation, seeing to the balanced performance of the national economy and protecting the purchasing power of the forint are the tasks Hungarian bank managers now have to tackle. The National Bank of Hungary is the depository of gold reserves and foreign currency and performs a great many international payment operations, including the servicing of foreign debts. The bank is also elaborating indirect financial levers to control the five newly-established commercial credit banks, which have freer rein than ordinary financial institutions.

Two tiers

Up to 1987 a one-tier banking system effectively operated in Hungary. The National Bank of Hungary, operating as a credit loan bank, funded government projects, sometimes overstraining budget possibilities. But such centralized crediting did not speed up the circulation of capital, did not make for fewer loss-making enterprises, did not stimulate factories, departments and ministries to economize on financial resources. Hungarian economists are convinced today that the difficulties the Hungarian economy has come up against lately have been caused not only by unfavourable external circumstances but also by the fact that the reform was not always carried out consistently. While enterprises, for instance, became independent, and economic regulation gained ground, the National Bank remained as monopolist as it had been before, the "generous" state continuing to fund low-efficiency enterprises. This stalled the structural industrial changes geared to provide for a more flexible adaptation of the economy to the foreign market.

The new two-tier system of greater financial leverage in management now has many components. The National Bank of Hungary and five commercial banks comprise the nucleus of the system. At the same time, a new State Institute for Development has been organized under the auspices of the Finance Ministry. Since reliance only on the market mechanism and money-commodity relations has not heretofore been a characteristic feature of socialist states, the institute will deal with the large, nationally important, though long-recouping, capital investments which are recouping on them.

The National Bank of Hungary, remaining on the upper tier, not only "prints" money, but also distributes it, as it were, amongst the five commercial banks through indirect methods of management. All five commercial banks are sufficiently independent, but their distinctive feature is that they operate as joint-stock companies. They therefore display more enterprise, stimulated by the shareholders, who want dividends. Thus, the commercial banks show more initiative and work for profits, though they can go bankrupt as they risk some of their capital. The National Bank has never been able to afford to do so!

"Refunding" is a word that is frequently come across in economic treatises in Hungary. Despite the large credit potential of the new commercial banks, the National Bank of Hungary is also keen on giving them funds as loans, exploiting this method as a tool for controlling and influencing the movement of currency. The National Bank now has more to do with enterprise, and runs the concomitant risks, though it will not earmark for any commercial bank sums greater than the total amount of the latter's joint-stock capital.

"Enterprises may now turn to us or any other commercial bank for a loan. We now have a competitive situation, trying to outdo each other in providing more advantageous terms for the client," says Sandor Demjan, director-general of the new Hungarian Credit Bank.

I have known Sandor Demjan for many years. He used to be head of one of the country's most successful enterprises, the cooperative association "Skala-Coop." Now he is also doing well in his new post.

Since the new commercial bank is a joint-stock company, it has invited many factories, cooperatives and trading associations to be shareholders in it. Their number has now reached more than 340!

Possibilities? 8.9 billion forints of authorized capital, with 6.9 billion owned by the state and the remaining 2 billion contributed by enterprises that have purchased bonds. The arrangement is as follows: one bond costs 500 thousand forints and gives the purchaser the right to sit on the Board of Directors.

"Our objective," Sandor Demjan goes on to say, "is to invest in mastering new technologies and manufacturing competitive products. We have also set ourselves the goal of funding fast-returning (in five years maximum) capital investment. We attach great importance to establishing Hungarian-Soviet and other joint ventures, expanding joint-stock associations and improving financial ties to increase the mobility of the forint."

Who is considered bankrupt

As a proponent of high profitability, the

redit Bank was the first to suggest that nkrupt enterprises be liquidated. How-er, Sandor Demjan points out, only ose enterprises should be regarded as solvent which are incapable of outlining nsible strategies for improving their onomic performance. If, however, the terprise has good ideas up its sleeve d displays initiative and vigour with a w to raising the quality of its products meet world standards, the bank is wil-g to give it preferential terms to help it t of the quandary.

To increase the efficiency of people's vings and make them work, the bank s set up a subsidiary which gives loans individuals, craftsmen, tradespeople, rking associations and cooperatives. a crediting institution, this subsidiary nk has the right to security against a an, which means that having rtgaged their savings and property, vate entrepreneurs, for instance, can dily obtain funds in conformity with in-stment credit terms current in Hun-ry. If the debt is not serviced properly, mortgaged goods are sold. This sub-iary of the credit bank has extended erations dealing with securities and ares and embarked on transactions h bonds and bills with floating interest s.

In the competition to win clients, the er commercial banks have quickly nd their niches in the financial sphere. Apropos of securities and bonds: ac-rding to the Hungarian press, 320 is-es worth 300 billion forints have been dertaken, and 70 per cent have been d to the population. Last year regis-ed a purchasing boom, while this year ows a recession on the market. The ason? Growing inflation. It is expected reach 17 per cent, the highest figure for past thirty years. Lower interest rates securities have lost their attractive-ss. Nevertheless, 29 types of bonds worth 3 billion forints have been issued over the first half of the year.

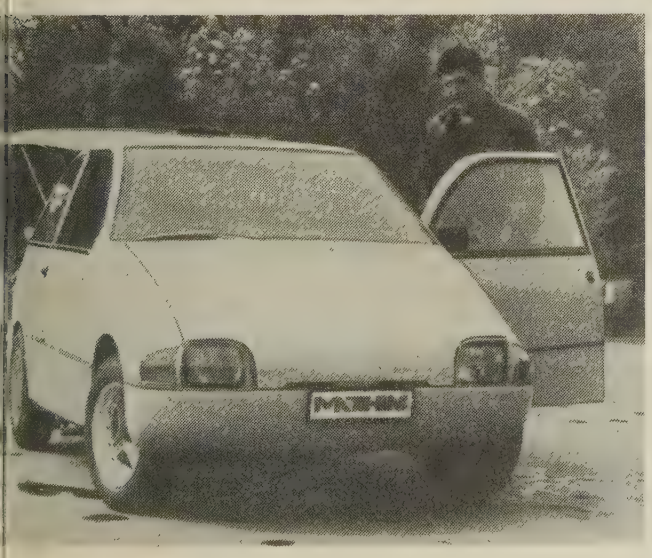
Much more popular are the state treasury bonds launched by the National Bank of Hungary this spring, with short repayment periods of three, six and nine months which respectively give 11, 13 and 15 per-cent interest per annum. Such bonds to the tune of 5 billion forints have been issued, and a further 10 billion forints worth are on the way.

Since a securities market has come into being in Hungary, the stock exchange is becoming one of the pillars of the two-tier financial system. However, it is still in its initial stage. As from early this year, first once every fortnight and now daily, the National Bank of Hungary and the five commercial banks, other financial institutions and insurance agencies have started to coordinate their activities, that is, to agree on bond rates from which they are allowed to depart by 0.5 per cent at the most. This measure has brought about a stabilization in the securities market, which had earlier started to show some signs of imbalance.

Hungarian economists are planning to create a more developed stock exchange institution. Now a stock exchange board has been set up, as well as an ethics commission whose objective will be to protect investors and holders of securities from unfair competition. The people involved will have to learn the working rules for stock exchange operations, and methods of performing efficiently.

Making a wider use of securities and treasury bonds, the National Bank of Hungary thus exerts a stronger influence on the solvency of the commercial banks.

The two-tier system would have been deficient and unreliable had it not included, besides the five commercial banks, a couple of dozen more financial institutions, smaller banks and joint-stock companies. Today any enterprise has the right to establish a commercial bank. For this purpose it needs capital of at least a billion forints, while a specialized one needs 500 million. The Bank of Hungary also monitors their activities, determining credit interest rates and the rates of reserve assets, which are to be kept in the National Bank, and taxation rates. These new banks can freely amalgamate or rechannel funds and establish all sorts of production and trade associations.



The opportunities offered by production cooperation and the international division of labour are also demonstrated by this minicar assembled by Hungarian designers from parts and components produced in socialist countries.

MTI-TASS photo

To know where to look for profit

In the early 1980s, an innovation fund came into being in the National Bank of Hungary. The Bank used this fund at its own discretion to loan money or credits for projects in the hope of returns from the profits on new inventions and contributed to introducing and marketing them. Today Innofinance bank operates as an independent small stockholding bank on the basis of the fund. Erzsebet Birman, the bank's managing director, initially had at her disposal 500 million forints. On the strength of this capital, the circulation capital of the bank has now grown (over a short period of time) to reach a billion forints.

"This was possible due to our participation in many new joint stock companies, associations and companies that specialize in introducing innovations," Erzsebet Birman explains.

She showed me the list of enterprises, associations and joint-stock companies in which the bank has shares. I counted 26, of which 19 are established by Innofinance.

"Our bank does not perform traditional commercial transactions. 35 per cent of the capital is invested in innovations and inventions, thus facilitating these innovations and the production of pilot models."

Erzsebet Birman cites the following example, indicating the specific conditions of their work. In one research institute they developed a new material for the production of semiconductors. For further research and sample production, Innofinance, together with the research institute in question, established a joint-stock company, Elektrokemia. The inventor became commercial director of the company. And someone at Innofinance, believing in the future of the material, bought 100 thousand forints' worth of Elektrokemia shares. Or take another example: the bank recently earmarked money for the manufacture of experimental equipment for an Academy of Sciences research institute.

"We have also set up an inventor's fund within our bank. We received money from

the State Committee for Technological Development and the Ministry of Industry. 60 per cent of dividends from these operations will fall to our share and the remaining 40 per cent will go to the sponsors," the general managing director continued.

The Innofinance Bank, small as it is (it only has a staff of 28) now loans money for Soviet research as well. Specialists at the Miskolc Technical University of Heavy Industry, together with the Academician Gubkin Institute of Petrochemical and Gas Industries in Moscow, carried out research in the field of laser devices. Now the decision has been taken to start production, drawing funds from a small-scale bank in Hungary and selling the products in third countries. Five prototypes are expected to be put out soon. Innofinance has transferred money to both Moscow and Miskolc in view of the prospective sales.

It would be in place to mention that Ferenc Bartha, the new chairman of the National Bank of Hungary, has recently visited Moscow to have talks on joint financial ventures. The decision has been made to establish a joint Soviet-Hungarian trade bank.

The objectives of the new two-tier banking system in Hungary are to compel the forint to perform more vigorously and give it more weight in the international arena, rechanneling the money and concentrating it on the most vital directions of development. It has not taken long to prove that this system is better adapted to, and more efficient in, ensuring a faster momentum for the present economic mechanism in Hungary. This system has made it possible to establish joint banks with British, Austrian and West German capital. The operation of the Hungarian-American stockholding Citibank Budapest is paying well too.

I would like to add that the National Bank of Hungary has recently begun securities operations abroad as well – in the Federal Republic, Britain and Japan. In the F.R.G., for example, they distribute Hungarian bonds worth 200 thousand D-marks in denominations of one thousand and 10 thousand D-marks, with an annual interest rate of 6.25 per cent.

One more important part of the economic reform has been implemented which, the Hungarian manager now says, reflects the principle of justice in the economic sphere: those who make decisions, whether the state or an enterprise, must also take the financial responsibility for their actions and be accountable for their decisions. Formerly people who erred remained unidentified. Today one should be well aware of what is necessary for the state and the nation and what is not. Money must be accounted for, and not just when it comes from one's own pocket.

BUDAPEST

G.D.R.

Berlin: glimpses of past and present

Anatoly Kovrigin has begun his tour of duty as New Times correspondent in the German Democratic Republic. Here is his first report from Berlin

A new address was recently entered in guidebooks to Berlin. Two monumental bronze bas-reliefs were unveiled on the wall of Marstall, the former Imperial stables, in the very centre of the city. Sculptor Gerhard Rommel had depicted events of the November 1918 revolution in Germany, the 70th anniversary of which had been observed throughout the country.

A red banner over Berlin

Autumn 1918. The four years of the war had brought Germany to the brink of a precipice. The military command was no longer able to avert defeat. Passions in the country had risen to fever pitch and the crisis had reached boiling point. The poor had got poorer and the rich richer. The 2,000 families of Berlin millionaires had never lived in such luxury as during the last year of the war. The Berlin police-president reported to the Kaiser in this connection that "the nouveax riches who have made fortunes out of the war are paying a great deal of money for furs and jewellery."

But the Kaiser did not seem to care, as he himself was a big landowner, with property estimated at 140 million marks, an enormous sum for the time.

The ordinary people dragged out a miserable life. They did not just fall in battle. In 1918 alone, 294,000 Germans died of hunger. Typhus, tuberculosis and other epidemics mowed people down by the thousand. The population was weary of the war and longed for peace. Peace was energetically desired by soldiers in the trenches, factory workers and peasants. Their patience was running out. When Adolf von Trotha, chief of the naval staff, ordered the ships to put to sea for "a decisive battle" with the British fleet, German sailors in Kiel refused to obey.

This sparked off a revolution. Within a few days workers and soldiers had risen throughout the country.

"I was 22 years old then and worked at an aircraft factory in Berlin," Franz Wisniewski, a veteran member of the Communist Party, recalls. "As soon as the news of revolutionary action by sailors reached us, we went on strike. It was on November 7. Then, together with my workmates, I took part in patrolling the streets and disarming counterrevolutionary units."

On November 9, thousands of demonstrators rushed to the centre of Berlin. Workers at Borsig and Daimler, Siemens and AEG, Schwarzkopf and Argus, carried red banners and posters reading: "Down with war! Down with monarchy! We want peace and bread!" Soldiers tore off the stripes and cockades of the Kaiser's army and pinned red rib-

Anatoly Kovrigin was born in Moscow in 1950. A graduate of Moscow State University, he has worked with the Novosti Press Agency and as a TASS correspondent in Austria.

ons on their overcoats. Within a few
ours the rebellious people had occupied
e main government institutions, the city
agistracy, the general post office, and
eased hundreds of political prisoners.
In these circumstances Chancellor
ax von Baden was compelled to an-
ounce Kaiser Wilhelm's intention to ab-
cate the throne. The post of head of
ate went to Friedrich Ebert, one of the
o chairmen of the Social Democratic
rty, while another chairman, Philipp
heidemann, proclaimed Germany a re-
blic. But the Social Democratic leaders
ere not interested in the further de-
lopment of the revoluition.

he birth of ne Communist Party

e only political force that sought to
rther the revolution and impart a
cialist character to it was the Spar-
kusbund – the left-wing Social Democ-
s led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl
bknecht. Addressing a huge rally in
nt of the Hohenzollern Palace on
vember 9, Liebknecht warned:
hough the past has been destroyed,
should not think that our task has
en achieved. We must exert every ef-
to form a government of workers and
diers and build a state system of the
letariat, a system of peace, happiness
d freedom."

These words proved prophetic. The
vember revolution overthrew the
narchy, legislatively recognized free-
m of speech, the press and assembly
d universal suffrage, and carried out a
mber of reforms. But it failed to decide
e main issue, that of power.

Wilhelm Pieck, one of the founders of
e Communist Party and the first presi-
nt of the German Democratic Repub-
, wrote in his reminiscences that the
vember revolution was not carried
rough, that it stopped half-way. Why
d that happen? This is how Walter Wim-
er, a well-known historian and a profes-
r at the Marxism-Leninism Institute of
e Socialist Unity Party Central Commit-
e, answers this question.

"First of all," he said, "the events of
vember 1918 in Germany should be
amined in the context of the general
anges that were taking place in the
rld. They are directly linked with the
ave of revolutions and deep-going
anges brought about by the October
17 revolution in Russia. The revolutio-
ry action of the German proletariat re-
cted as in a mirror the events in Petrog-
d a year earlier.

"The November revolution, besides br-
ging the long-awaited peace to the Ger-
ans, substantially helped to improve
e condition of the new-born Soviet

Erich Honecker and other party and government leaders visit the family of M. Fischer, a Berlin roofer, in their new flat

ADN–TASS photo

Russia. The changes in Germany enabled the Bolshevik government to annul the Brest Peace and helped Poland and Czechoslovakia to gain independence.

"The main reason for the failure of revolutionary workers, soldiers and sailors to win a victory in 1918 is that they did not have a political vanguard tested in class battles. The Social Democratic leaders pursued a treacherous policy. One of them, Gustav Noske, was even called a 'bloodthirsty hound' because he organized groups to suppress the revolutionary workers. The proclamation of the Bavarian Soviet Republic in April 1919 was the culmination, and its defeat was the declilne of the November revolution.

"The historic role of the November 1918 revolution also lies in the fact that it placed on the agenda the question of founding an independent Marxist-Leninist party. On December 31, 1918, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and their comrades announced the establishment of the Communist Party of Germany. The German Communists have traversed a long and difficult path over the last 70 years. There have been mistakes and defeats in the history of the Communist Party. But whether in the period of the Weimar Republic or in the years of the ruthless Nazi dictatorship, it proposed an effective alternative to the policy of the ruling circles.

"After the routing of fascism by the Soviet Army and Allied troops, the Communists built the first worker and peasant state on German soil. It can be said," Walter Wimmer concluded, "that the November 1918 revolution was as important for the German Communists as the revolution of 1905 was for the Bolsheviks."

I would like to add one more fact here. In December 1918 several dozen former members of the Spartakusbund joined the Communist Party. Today there are more than two million Communists in the German Democratic Republic. Isn't this a striking example of the growth of their prestige and influence?

Building and restoring Berlin

What are the problems of the city now and how does it look today? I had occasion to visit it many years ago. It should be said first of all that, despite its long history (the 750th anniversary of Berlin was celebrated last year), the city has become even more beautiful and comfortable.

The scale of housing construction can best be illustrated by figures. Incidentally, as distinct from our own statistics, the relevant figures published in the G.D.R. are more intelligible and, I would say, more easily assimilable. Newly commissioned dwelling space is measured not in square metres but in finished self-contained flats. A total of 330,000 flats have been built in Berlin since 1971, with nearly 24,000 flats made available this year. As many as 895,000 people have had their housing conditions improved. The amount of living space per capita has increased from 20 to 27 square metres. Nevertheless, rent remains stable, constituting 3 to 4 per cent of the family budget. These figures are certainly impressive.

"We have applied ourselves to the solution of a major social problem – the provision of every family with a flat," Günter Stahn, director of the municipal construction bureau, told me. "A great deal has been done in this respect, especially over the last ten years. The housing problem must be solved by 1990. But we shall continue to build new flats, because new

families are constantly coming into existence and, besides, demands are growing: what was acceptable several years ago does not suit many people today."

New buildings are going up in different parts of the city, and changes can be seen everywhere. But especially impressive is the reconstructed city centre. Only a few years ago there were still heaps of stones and half-ruined buildings and palaces there, and the naked skeletons of medieval churches rose behind neat fences. Nearly all the fences have now been pulled down, and the historic parts of the city have come to life again.

One of the newly restored quarters is called Nikolaiviertel. It is the cradle of Berlin. Nikolaiviertel was first mentioned in the annals in 1237. Only a heap of ruins remained of it by the end of the Second World War. Reconstruction began in the early 1980s. Architects, engineers, builders and restorers have worked wonders in six years. Every building restored by them here can indeed be called a work of art. Take Ephraim Palace, for instance. Its owner was a court jeweller under Friedrich II who built his splendid mansion with Toscana columns, sculptures and cast-iron grilles between 1761 and 1766. The palace, now used as an exhibition hall, has been restored with historical authenticity. Many people who come here admire not only exhibits but also the skill of the restorers.

There are also dwelling houses – exactly 20 – in the Nikolaiviertel quarter. There are seven hundred flats with all modern conveniences above 30 shops and almost two dozen restaurants and cafés on the ground floor. Any guest is welcome here. One can have a cup of coffee or a glass of beer, or the delicate specialities of old Berlin and European cuisine.

When the old is impossible to restore, new buildings are put up. The existing architectural ensemble is naturally taken into account. There are almost no high-rise buildings in the city. The only exceptions are the international trade centre and the Stadt Berlin Hotel. The houses seem to have been matched to each other in both height and decor.

Friedrichstrasse, one of the most famous streets in the city, is significant in this respect. A large part of the street is now under scaffolding. What has been completed is characterized by high quality. This can be said of the Friedrichstadt-Palast theatre, the handsome Grand Hotel, and the House of Soviet Science and Culture, adorned with the hammer and sickle.

The house is open from morning till evening. Life is in full swing there. "Our house was inaugurated in 1984," deputy director Sergei Kadykov told me. "It is difficult to say how many people have visited it in this time. Two or three thousand and sometimes more people of various ages come here every day from all districts of Berlin and other parts of the republic. In short, we cannot complain of lack of interest on the part of the Germans, especially now when perestroika has been initiated in our country. Our German friends want to know as much as possible about it, and they can get first-hand information here."

One can always see people in the numerous libraries of the house and at various exhibitions held in it. The cinema and concert halls and the bookshop also attract many people. Its restaurant, the Volga, enjoys a good reputation. A large crowd of people recently gathered near the "Russian House," as Berliners often call it. Their attention was drawn by a small sports plane with red stars on its wings. It stood right on the broad pavement of Friedrichstrasse. When I saw a plane surrounded by a crowd of people, I thought some pilot had landed by chance in a Berlin Street. But soon I learned that the sports plane had been assembled by young designers in Kuibyshev, U.S.S.R., and delivered by the Sovtransavto agency for a scientific and technical exhibition in Berlin.

That it was a working model was confirmed by the famous pilot-cosmonaut Valery Bykovsky, who was appointed director of the house last spring. The new director has his hands full. As a matter of fact, he already has experience in the important cause of promoting friendly ties between the peoples of the G.D.R. and the Soviet Union. It was Bykovsky who, ten years ago, carried out a joint space flight with Siegmund Jähn, the republic's first and so far only cosmonaut.

A few days ago a Christmas tree was put up in Alexanderplatz. It is, of course, dwarfed by the nearby TV tower. The tree is only 30 metres tall. But it is not inferior to the tower in its decoration, and is of a much more venerable age (105 years).

A Christmas tree is also a sign that the New Year is approaching. It will be a special year for the working people of the G.D.R., as it marks the 40th anniversary of the republic. The birth of the republic and its development along socialist lines were undoubtedly made possible thanks to those who in 1918 raised the banner of revolution over Germany and built the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class.

■

December 1918 saw the creation of the Communist Workers' Party of Poland, the first party of Polish Communists. 40 years ago Polish Communists and Socialists united into a single party of the working people – the Polish United Workers' Party.

The road to creating the revolutionary vanguard of the Polish working people was long and complicated. Economic and social life on Polish soil, divided as it was between Austro-Hungary, Prussia and tsarist Russia, had a heterogenous character, varying according to local needs and conditions. The working class movement, now 100 years old, developed just as differently. It was at its most consistent on the territory of the old Kingdom of Poland, then under tsarist domination. There the first Polish revolutionary party, Proletariat, was created, as well as the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, which closely cooperated with the party of Lenin. The Polish Socialist Party was active there too.

Birth of the vanguard

The two trends, each with its own ideological and organizational forms, had manifested themselves by the early 1890s. The political programmes, theoretical discussions and debates related, among other things, to their approach to the problem of national liberation and the restoration of Polish national sovereignty. The stand on this question was of decisive social and political importance.

Born a month after Poland attained independence, the Communist Workers' Party of Poland inherited from its predecessors - the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania and the Polish Socialist Party Lewica – their political assets, along with the burden of their mistakes – the subordination of national interests to the struggle for the triumph of the revolution worldwide, the conviction that under imperialism there are no conditions for the appearance of new states nor any need for them to appear. This stand became a major obsta-

The hard road to unity

…, preventing the party, figuratively …eaking, from spreading its wings and …nbracing the public at large with its in…ence.

Despite mistakes and limitations in the …ogramme, however, the Communist …orkers' Party of Poland, later renamed …e Communist Party of Poland, played … important role in the national life. Re…lutely standing up for working-class in…ests and opposing exploitation, the …rty was a real organizer in building up …istance to the absolute domination of …pital and attempts to restrict and up…ot democracy. The party became the …mbol of hope for the hungry, the op…essed, the unemployed and the home…s. Well-known figures in science, cul…e, literature and art sprang up inside it …d rallied around it because of its pre…ge.

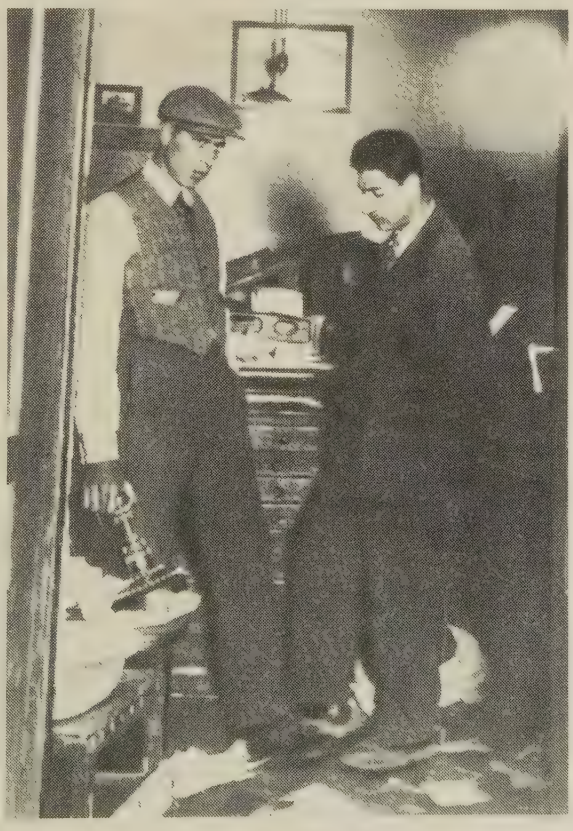
No wonder the authorities at the time …w a dangerous opponent in the numer…ily small Communist Party. One …ason why the bourgeoisie hated the …mmunist Party of Poland was that it …enly declared its sym…thy with the U.S.S.R.

It is no accident, there…re, having once been …eated, the Communist …rty of Poland was de…ed the opportunity to …nction legally, while its …embers and activists …d to suffer vicious at…cks, persecution and ar…sts.

The second …endency

In the period between …e two wars, along with …e Communist Party, the …olish Socialist Party was …so active in the Polish …orking-class movement. …had come into being late … the last century (1892), …d had much to its credit … the struggle for indepen…ence. It must be admit…d, however, that formerly … People's Poland, as…essments of the activities of the Polish Socialist Party contained many fundamental misinterpretations. Frequently, attention was only called to manifestations of reformism on the part of the Socialist Party, while for opportunist and tactical reasons a pall of silence was deliberately imposed on its many positive contributions and its experience. Glib labelling took the place of objective criticism.

In fact, the Polish Socialist Party was made up of a whole number of trends, including radical ones. The Socialist Party defended democratic state institutions, strengthened the traditions of socialist humanism and had a considerable influence on the positions of many prominent representatives of the intelligentsia. Activists in the party worked to develop various forms of self-government and cooperation, successfully carried out educational work among workers and backed left-wing trends in culture. In the light of today's changes, all this is seen more vividly, and fair and balanced judgements therefore come easier.



Police destroy the Communist Party press

In the later years of prewar Poland, the Polish Socialist Party was the only organized political force of the working people. Following several years of brutal persecution of Communists, the Comintern disbanded the Polish Communist Party. As we know today, this decision was taken under pressure from Stalin on the grounds of false information. Many leading party executives and mid-level members were gaoled or died. On the threshold of the war against the Nazi occupiers the Polish Socialist Party was left stripped of its most radical and mature wing.

The road to unity

We should emphasize, however, that in September, 1939, Communists, members of the disbanded party, guided by their sense of patriotism, joined the front ranks of the defenders of their country. It was at that time that the poet Wladyslaw Broniewski, a non-affiliated supporter of the Communist Party of Poland, wrote in a poem of "accounts of offences in the Fatherland," accounts that "cannot be covered by a strange hand" but which cannot keep the offended from readiness to sacrifice themselves for the sake of Poland's independence.

This new tradition, germinating in those tragic times, was taken up by the Polish Workers' Party, which emerged in 1942 in the conditions of war and occupation. In the armed struggle against the invaders it worked out prerequisites for becoming a party of the whole people. The programme of the Polish Workers' Party was the first in the history of the Polish working-class movement to merge in one both a class-conscious approach on the one hand, and patriotic and democratic content, on the other. This programme, and the political practice pursued by the PWP during the occupation and after the liberation, paved the way to the unity of the working-class movement.

The PWP and the PSP started the in-depth political dialogue that was to lead not only to their organizational amalgamation but also to a sort of fusion whereby the partners abandon their erroneous positions and begin to rely fully

Likwidacja groźnej organizacji komunistycznej w Zagłębiu Dąbrowskiem.
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Główni przywódcy partji komunistycznej wśród kolejarzy Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego, aresztowani onegdaj przez policję powiatu będzińskiego. Są to: 1) Jan Sokół, prezes zawodowego Związku kolejarzy w Sosnowcu; 2) Piotr Stalka, były prezes Z. Z. K. w Dąbrowie Górniczej; 3) St. Gruszczyński, komendant okr. bojówek komunistycznych; 4) Stefan Misiaczek, płatny funkcjonarjusz K. P. P.; 5) Wiktor Leśniak, funkcjonarjusz okręgowy K. P. P.; 6) Bolesław Rotter, członek komitetu dzielnicowego K. P. P. i 7) Mieczysław Kuta, sekretarz dzielnicowy partji.

That is how the newspaper Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny informed its readers on November 12, 1931, of "the elimination of the dangerous communist organization" of railwaymen in Zaglebie Dabrowski.

on their positive experience.

The fact that the Polish Workers' Party was led by Wladyslaw Gomulka, distinguished by his realism and political decency, only facilitated the process. It must be said that the then leadership of the Polish Socialist Party headed by Jozef Cyrankiewicz sincerely and firmly believed that the interests of the working class and the future of people's Poland, called for unity. Similar sentiments were also widespread among grass-root members of both parties.

There should not be any idealizing the situation, however, since both the PWP and PSP naturally sought to ensure the prevalence of their own ideas. Both parties also had forces within them that would not accept the principle of unity as such, and from different angles suspected the other party of deception and even treachery.

The actual fact of unification took place, however, in changed political conditions. Under pressure from Stalin and as a result of specific internal political circumstances, Gomulka and his supporters were relieved of the leadership. They were accused of having departed from Stalin's concept of socialist development on the Soviet model.

Any departure from this model was perceived as "right-wing nationalistic deviation." Ironically, the label of right-wing nationalistic deviation was pinned on the party that was the direct heir to the Communist Party of Poland – the political force that had been accused by its opponents of anti-national trends and positions.

Nevertheless, the unification as such was not carried out on orders "from above," as some historians now try to suggest. Though complete fusion was not achieved, the two parties united fully aware of the importance and inevitability of the step. The all-embracing enthusiasm that accompanied the work of the Unification Congress was sincere and spontaneous.

Implementing the political behest

The processes under way today in the Soviet Union, and especially the comprehensive revolutionary restructuring of economic, political and public life, have introduced a new phase of development, and not only in the U.S.S.R. Their impact on the theory and practice of socialist construction in all socialist countries is an indisputable fact. For Poland, this is of particular importance. We have also started our own perestroika, which we call socialist renewal, along with the reassessment of many concepts and positions. One important thing here is the retrospective implementation of the political behest contained in the programmes and practice of the two political parties that laid the foundation for the PUWP.

We are and will remain members of one party. I cannot see any obstacle, however, to opening up within the party the opportunity for principled discussions, room for differing positions and a variety of judgements, in short, for real politics. Forms, boundaries and dimensions for such processes are determined in the course of open discussions. We expect the National Theoretical and Ideological Conference scheduled for early 1989 greatly to clarify the situation. We are already taking into account much of the valuable experience contained in the heritage of both Polish working-class movements. And here it is hardly opportune to indulge in hair-splitting arguments over how much is borrowed and from which. The destinies and the struggle of both parties have intertwined, and ideas once differently formulated have turned out on more than one occasion to be very close or indeed identical in content.

It is of fundamental importance that the Polish United Workers' Party has inherited from its predecessors, the CWPP, the CPP and PWP, the traditions of their working-class revolutionary character, their refusal to compromise in the struggle for the working-class cause and a consistent working-class nature. The definite stand of the Communists manifests itself in the resolute defence of the public ownership of the basic means of production and the practical implementation of this principle.

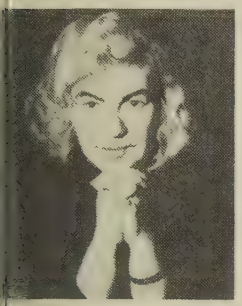
From the PSP legacy we revive the concept of socialist humanism, the role and place of the individual in civic life, the concept of the fusion of revolutionary interests and democracy, and the status of public organizations, including the PSP's brainchild – the cooperative movement.

Many new things have come into being over the past forty years which are now working in both practice and theory for the common cause to which the united party is committed. It is the PUWP and its allies that have worked out the principles of policies for rural areas and determined a realistic attitude to believers, religion and the church. And lastly, it is the PUWP that has elaborated the concept of building socialism with regard to Polish realities and national traditions. The PUWP is looking for a place for the party in the new conditions and working out an answer to the question of the socialist pluralism that is to come. It is in the ranks of this party that we have been learning to co-exist with the constructive opposition heeding its role and interests.

For all Communists – those who have joined the party in the last forty years or those who were active in one of the tendencies of the working-class movement before unification – only one party exists today, and the word "united" is real and incontrovertible. All members of the party would like to see it open to discussions, tolerant of different concepts and positions, and at the same time united on fundamental issues. They want to see it a party of real socialism, firmly constructed on principle and at the same time lively, dynamic and capable, ready to shed dogma and embrace things progressive.

Wladyslaw Klaczynski,
Polish journalist
Interpress photo

The epilogue to the Ordzhonikidze hijack



Tatiana Ivanova

Then, to judge from the press, we're drawing quite different conclusions from this story, probably much more sound than mine. Mine might not be so sound, but I prefer them nonetheless. And who is saying that soundness is all that great a virtue?

...Now imagine a similar situation involving terrorists, hostages, a plane, five, three or two years ago... For that matter, however, one only has to recall the Seven Simeons case, the quite recent attempt by the Ovechkin family to hijack a plane. The old way of thinking prompted us to an absolutely definite pattern of behavior, i.e., if the plane is seized by terrorists who intend to hijack it abroad, we won't let it happen; and if the terrorists don't surrender we shall kill them; and if in the process we die ourselves and let die other innocent people as well, we'll die for the idea, for you cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs.

When the children were back home but before the developments with the plane had been made public, the radio broadcast letters from angry working people. Why have we allowed the bandits to lead us by the nose? Have we lost the knack of fighting them? – so enquired the angry working people, while the radio journalist, upset by this development, tried to appeal to their common sense.

These letters to the radio centre were a manifestation of the old way of thinking, whose one and only concern was not to let the plane fly abroad.

But at last new thinking has triumphed. And I, keeping mental tally of perestroika's victories, triumphantly chalk up the incident with the Ordzhonikidze schoolchildren.

A documentary story could be written about the incident in the future and be read with keen interest. It would list all the "dramatis personae" involved in the episode, including those who negotiated with the gangsters meeting their improbable, preposterous and even brutal demands. All who got in touch with other countries, frontier posts, airports. The crew...

There are quite a few people who deserve credit for the rescue of the children. Each of them individually and as a whole have done fine.

To all appearances, we have emerged from a most difficult situation unscathed. The operation has proved a success.

Now I suggest we do some arithmetic on our gains.

Our darling children have not only survived safe and sound, but also during those terrible hours, I think, came to realize how much we love them. When you hear someone say, for example, "I'd do anything for you," you are certainly pleased and would like to believe it to be true, but at the same time the feeling that it is all empty rhetoric lurks somewhere at the back of your mind. When you actually see the proof of these words in action, however, it's a different story. And is it only the children who once happened to be hostages who are now fully aware of what the word Motherland really means? I don't think they are the only ones to have learned.

Now let us turn to the crew – heroes, indeed! They emerge from the plane in Sheremetyevo, smiling triumphantly, making all the pilots in the Soviet Union smile with them.

So many people in our country were very happy that day, admiring the pilots, the teacher of Russian and literature, the diplomats. Smiles lit up their faces. They were filled with a growing feeling of confidence in each other, with the hope that the country would come to our rescue if need be.

How much we need these smiles, this mutual admiration, this hope and confidence! We are not spoiled by all this; the lack of it all makes us feel fatigued, fretful and bitter...

As far as I understand, the whole operation was supervised by members of the State Security Committee (KGB). Keeping a tally of all the countless benefits brought about by this cliff-hanger, I would like to call special attention to the role the KGB played in it. Their efforts, proficiency, professionalism – all worked for the sake of humanity... I think the performance of the KGB in this incident will help enhance its prestige in society – both the KGB and society stand to gain from such enhanced prestige. I need not elaborate why.

Judging from the press reports, the bandits' intellectual abilities could not have been lower. This factor, however, did not deter them from forcing our plane to fly to a country with which we have no diplomatic relations, between which and ourselves there is no love lost. So the primitive intellect acted in conformity with the old way of thinking. New thinking, however, calls for dialogue, compromise and confidence. We succeeded in entering into constructive dialogue; we displayed confidence, and it did not fail, but was, on the contrary, fully honoured by a country in which only six of our diplomats reside in a hotel in the capital.

It is a good sign for the whole world community. People saw that the world could cooperate in fighting criminals. The press reported that hundreds of journalists from many countries waited in Tel Aviv airport until the take-off of the Soviet planes. Using satellite communication, broadcasting stations and television companies reported on developments. We did not conceal anything from anyone. We were courageous, well-mannered, frank, generous and confident.

We were intelligent...

SPECIAL FEATURE

An SOS that went unheeded for 34 years

The case of the tanker Tuapse, as reflected in the fates of members of her crew.

Almost every Soviet newspaper wrote about those who returned to the Soviet Union four months ago, but what was the fate of the other members of the Tuapse's crew? How did they return to ordinary life? Our readers asked us about that following the report in NT No. 35/88. Here is their story.

Irina Lagunina and Mikhail Khrobostov

"Due to the exceptional circumstances under which the former members of the crew of the tanker Tuapse returned home after 34 years in Taiwan, we hereby ask you to consider immediately providing them with apartments from the housing stock of the Black Sea Shipping Line."

The Black Sea Shipping Line has its headquarters in Odessa, a city where no serious undertaking goes without a joke, as our satirists maintain. Contacts had to be made there to find out what the fate of the returnees from Taiwan is going to be.

Before sending the above cable, the Ministry of the Merchant Marine and the other government agencies concerned did a great deal of work to provide the three seamen with the barest minimum of what they required to solve their problems, financial problems among them. This involved a lot of work as they had to act in keeping with standing rules and regulations. There have been no emergencies of the kind in the history of this country. Since legal acts are passed on the basis of precedent, there were no legal grounds for dealing with the problem.

In order to explain what kind of assistance the three returnees could expect from the outset, we must note here that, in accordance with the recommendations of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Labour and Social Affairs, the seamen were reinstated in their jobs at the Black Sea Shipping Line with unbroken seniority, and given cash payments. Taking into account the fact that they had spent a long time in isolation and suffered physical and moral injuries, which had caused irreparable damage to their health and occupational skills, the Ministry of the Merchant Marine is considering the idea of retiring them before they reach pensionable age. That is about all that has been done for them in Moscow. The Black Sea Shipping Line dealt with the problem of giving them cash grants, the size of which it determined, and providing them with apartments. The latter gave rise to considerable feeling.

Emotions

The "emergency" aroused a great deal of emotions not only at the Black Sea Shipping Line, a much-respected agency in Odessa, but among ordinary people as well. Many residents of the city remember the incident 34 years ago and the heroism shown by the Soviet seamen taken prisoner in Taiwan. They remember those who were first to return, who had withstood all the suffering that befell them with dignity and in whom the nation justly took pride. They have not forgotten those who returned later via third countries. A special exhibit at the Odessa Sea Fleet museum is dedicated to the tanker and its crew, and a play about the seamen has for many years been part of the repertoire of the Ukrainian Theatre of Musical Drama. A collection of short stories about hero ships published in 1981 gives a brief account of the incident involving the Tuapse and her crew.

The holiday season is over in Odessa in late October, when the future of Vladimir Sablin, Valentin Kniga and Boris Pisanov was being decided. There were fewer holiday-makers in Odessa than usual this season, and they had all left by then. The Odes-

sans were enjoying the respite between holiday seasons in their somewhat shabby, but by no means ancient city, founded just under 200 years ago. There were a few people strolling in Deribasovskaya Street and an occasional fountain was still playing in the rain.

You must keep your ears open in Odessa, locals tell you, and you will indeed hear a great deal.

The most amazing conversation we heard took place at dinner time in a café next to the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theatre. Two men were talking loudly about the seamen from the Tuapse. "They have built them up as heroes," one of them was saying, "they sure hit the headlines." "And now we have to rack our brains to find apartments for them here," the other added. "Who knows what they were really up to in Taiwan?"

We heard that sort of talk later on as well, in the streets, and even from shipping line officials. Perhaps to people thinking in such terms these arguments are quite valid. They perceive the three seamen who have just returned as traitors who at one time, albeit under duress, signed declarations that they did not want to return to the U.S.S.R. Prejudice aside, let us try and find out how they have lived all these years and what motives made them sign those declarations.

The search for truth

In order to get a clear picture we must rely on the accounts of those who have just returned as well as of those who returned earlier. The first group of 29 men returned home 13 months after they were taken prisoner. Nine more returned in 1957 and 1958 via the U.S.A. and Brazil.

The port of Gaoxiong to which the tanker Tuapse was towed in 1954

Photo from the magazine National Geographic

A party of seamen lined up for departure to the U.S. The man on the right is CIA officer Sokolov, who was in charge of the recruiting operation

Courtesy archives of the Ministry of the Merchant Marine of the U.S.S.R.

Four crewmen stayed on in the U.S.A. and one is till in Taiwan (See NT No. 35/88). Each of them has his own story to tell about his trials and tribulations. Their accounts of the same events may differ.

Luckily, Mikhail Karpov, a member of the crew of the Tuapse who returned home in 1955, kept a diary. It was of great help.

Notes from a diary

Here is how the incident began:

"I ran out on deck. There were two smaller escort ships trailing us port and starboard, and a destroyer. They drew nearer and a signal went out for us to cut the engine out. The captain went out on the bridge and gave the order to remain on course. They signalled that they would open fire unless we stopped, but we kept going. They fired three rounds and the third blew up near the bow of the tanker. Everybody was awake now and the whole crew gathered on portside. The bridge ordered that the engine be cut out and Moscow contacted and informed of the incident. We had not the fainteset idea of what was going to happen to us. Radioman Misha Boltunov was keeping watch and he radioed that the tanker had been seized by unidentified ships. Odessa, Vladivostok and Moscow responded immediately, but it was too late: two soldiers were already dragging Misha away and there was no one to answer the calls addressed to us..."

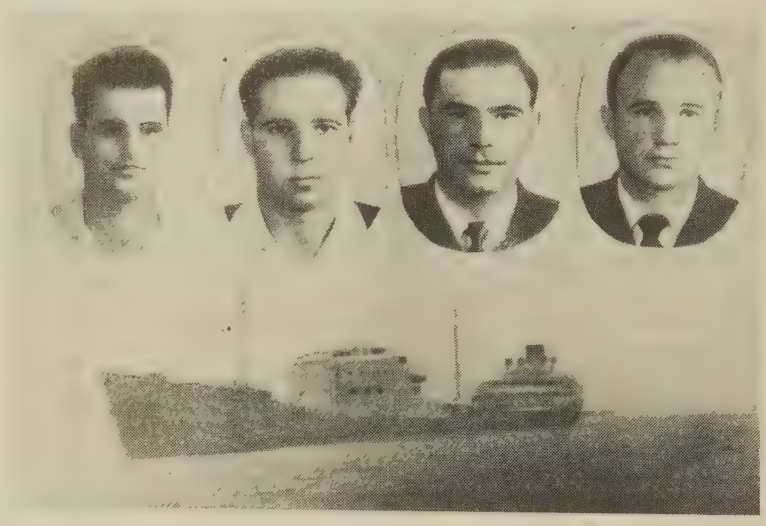
The distress call from the Tuapse was received in Moscow and a note of protest was lodged with the U.S. government the next day over the unlawful seizure of the tanker and her crew.

While still on board, members of the crew behaved in different ways. Most of them decided literally to fight for the Soviet flag, which the attackers tried to tear down. There was bitter fighting in the engine room.

Chief mechanic Anton Bespalov, the most popular member of the crew, boosted morale, but some others behaved differently.

"One of the captain's mates donned the cook's jacket and asked us all that if Chang Kaishi men interrogated us to tell them he was in charge of supplies. He was no morale booster, that man. As a result Bespalov assumed the initiative. He set us all an example throughout the 13 months of our captivity. We called ourselves the Bespalov group."

The crew were separated from each other in order to establish which of them would yield to pressure. In the end 20 men were selected, among them those who had yielded to pressure and cooperated with the Taiwanese officers in trying to persuade the others not to return home. They were offered various inducements, tempted with "liberty" and money, intimidated or forced to speak to their former comrades who had broken down.



The four Tuapse crewmen who returned home via Brazil

Courtesy Vladimir Benkovich

"...The car pulled up at a small house and Ding (a Taiwan secret service colonel – **Auth.**) told me to get out and follow him. There was a guard at the entrance. We walked down an unlit corridor and entered a room. I had a good look around. Ding watched my response and told me that I would be living in this room and that food would soon be brought. I told him I was not hungry and demanded that I be taken back to other members of the group. A policemen came in carrying a tray of food. I was terribly hungry, but I realized that if I succumbed they will leave me here. I sat down on a bamboo chair. I heard steps outside. I stood up. Vitya Tatarnikov came in (at present he resides in the U.S.A. – **Auth.**). There was clearly someone eavesdropping at the door. I asked Tatarnikov whether he had signed a pledge not to return home. He said he had. I told him to disclaim it immediately and informed him that we would soon be going home. Tatarnikov refused. He said he wanted to go to Brazil and that he was being held up by some formalities. I tried to persuade him to change his mind; after all, his family was waiting for him back home. Ding came in and asked Tatarnikov to leave the room. From what I heard of their conversation I gathered that Tatarnikov had been sent to persuade me to sign the pledge, but it had worked out the other way round. I was trying to make him change his mind and go back home to the U.S.S.R."

Here is another note from the diary concerning the differences in behaviour that determined the differences in the fates of the men.

"Olya Panova was the last one they brought to the group. We were all very glad to see her. All that time she had lived in a separate room in the barracks. According to her, Lopatyuk had come to see her (at present he resides in Taiwan – **Auth.**), tried to persuade her not to return home, to marry him and go to any country. When she refused, he told her that unless she complied soldiers were going to have 'fun' with her, but she never gave in."

It took several months for representatives of the Red Cross to reach the seamen.

"Good news at last! A car was sent down bringing parcels and money from the Red Cross. We knew all along that the Motherland would not forget us and would help us to get out."

They kept their faith and the image of their homeland where their loved ones were waiting for them and where everything was being done to help them return. They cherished the hope of going back home as closely as they guarded the portrait of Lenin that they had managed to take with them from the tanker and hide. They hung it on the wall on holidays.

Mikhail Karpov recalls: "Just before leaving we were getting out things together. I opened my suitcase and a policeman started rummaging through it. He found the portrait of Lenin and started poking a finger at it. I told him it was a portrait of my father and he nodded."

That is how the portrait returned home. It is now in the U.S.S.R. Sea Fleet Museum.

Faith in justice

In the previous instalment we were unable to explain why the three seamen from the Tuapse who spent 34 years in Taiwan had been forgotten, but as we investigated further we discovered that the four men who returned home via Brazil in 1958 subsequently spent eight years in Soviet labour camps. In order to understand how this could have happened we had to go back to their time in Taiwan. Vladimir Benkovich, one of the four men, had this story to tell.

"We barely saw each other while we were in Taiwan. There were ways of finding out where our comrades are, however, and we had a rough idea of what was happening to them. The most difficult thing was to get together, but shortly before we were to leave for the U.S. we were given permission to go more or less where we pleased. We wanted to get together in order to work out a joint plan of action and also to strengthen our resolve to return home. Of the twenty men who were still in captivity by then, fourteen turned up, among them Kniga, Sablin, and Lopatyuk. I wrote the text of an oath, which we all took. We gathered in the mountains away from the eyes of our guards. It was an occasion of great uplift for us.

"Several days later I was taken into custody, evidently as the organizer of the meeting and the author of the oath. Chang Kaishi men had somehow got wind of it. Recently Pisanov told me that Lopatyuk had informed on us. I did not knew that. He was there with us and he also took the oath. In short, I was arrested, charged with communist propaganda, and jailed. I was in solitary confinement and did not know how the others were doing. But then I saw their shirts on a line in the prison yard and

realized that a few of them were also in jail.

"I spent six months in that jail. Pavel Gvozdik was immediately arrested too because he had organized the meeting in the mountains as well. Then they seized Zibrov and Anfilov. They were determined to break us. We had to endure six months of torture. They wanted us to disclaim our oath and tape a declaration that we had decided not to return to the U.S.S.R. Finally we could bear it no longer. It happened at about the same time I really don't know why, we were all kept in solitary confinement. We all signed the papers they gave us. They released us from jail and took us to some countryhouse. Gvozdik and Anfilov had suffered a great deal. Anfilov had lost practically all his teeth; they had knocked them out and Gvozdik had been beaten almost deaf.

Vladimir Benkovich in a labour camp in Mordovia

"The countryhouse was like the fanza where Kniga, Sablin and Pisanov lived until recently. We were given pocket money as refugees from behind the Iron Curtain. We were free to come and go, but there was a guard living with us and we were not allowed to leave Peitou. (A Taipei suburb – **Auth.**) We were approached by members of various émigré organizations, including the Popular Labour Alliance, and even monarchists. We were totally unprepared and did not knew what to do. We were helped by Georgi Elsner, a former colonel in the czar's army. He had worked for a French concession in China before the revolution and then fled to Taipei, where he opened a restaurant. He told us that we must stand our ground, because we were Soviets. He was right, of course. He also advised us on how to behave. Later on they all gradually realized that we had been born and raised as Soviet citizens and could not think of ourselves otherwise. Just as we sang Soviet songs because we did not know any others. And they left us alone at last.

"Then we were given an opportunity to leave for any country that did not have diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. It was their condition that we speak on the radio and pledge not to return to the U.S.S.R. We chose Brazil, because it is not an island state, and there are other countries around it. We were also offered a passage to Australia and New Zealand.

"We spent several months in Brazil, where we met some Poles. There was a Polish mission to Brazil, and we asked them to help us get back home. Several months later they gave us passports and letters from our families. We left for Uruguay under the identity of Polish commercial officials. We were met by Soviet embassy officials.

"A month later we appeared at a news conference in Moscow and then left for Odessa. We were all arrested on the same day. Unfortunately, none of the correspondents who heard us speak at the news conference in Moscow ever mentioned in their reports that we had met secretly in the mountains to take that oath. I don't know why they never reported that. It was important. I was very upset when I tried to explain to our investigators that we young lads of twenty had really risked our lives when we met there, and heard from them that we met on orders from Chang Kaishi men to provoke other crewmen and identify those who were really resolved to go to the West and those who were not. The investigators were clearly out to implicate us. We were young and too romantic and perhaps we had not really needed that oath; one word would have been enough. But I suppose what we really needed was the ritual of taking an oath.

"They charged us with a lot of things. We were charged with signing a pledge not to return, but we had never denied that. We had told the news conference bluntly that we did sign those pledges, but we had done so because we could not bear being tortured any longer. I don't know, perhaps it would have been better if we had died, but we could not just die like that..."

The four men who returned home from Brazil were arrested here in this country on charges of treason, anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, and espionage. After a nine-month investigation the only charge that remained standing was that of treason. They were interrogated for 257 days and subjected to psychological pressure. They were so exhausted morally and physically that they finally gave up. They were no longer glad that they had returned.

They were sentenced on charges of treason to between 12 and 15 years in a labour camp. In the camp they realized that they had fallen victim to a repressive machine that had carried over from the past and survived the positive changes then beginning to manifest themselves in the country. They submitted appeals, and after they had done six years they were informed that their cases were being reviewed. They each spent 8 years in the camp and were eventually released, because the charges brought against them had been found to be groundless. They all married after they were released. Some of them are still working, others have retired.

They paid a heavy price for the stereotypes that prevailed for many years in the public mind in this country and their frantic attempts to return home at any cost. The three men who spent 34 years in Taiwan have paid a price just as heavy.

(to be concluded)

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American director **Martin Scorsese,** who has recently shocked good Christians the world over with his film "The Last Temptation of Christ" (see New Times issue 36, 1988), is now "tinkering with Dostoyevsky." "This is another one of those things that I've wanted to do for a long time, since I read 'The Gambler' in 1968," Scorsese said. His modern romance, however, is not based so much on Dostoyevsky's writings as on the diary of the author's one-time mistress, a young writer named Apollinaria Suslova. Richard Price, the novelist and screenwriter, who had earlier collaborated with Scorsese, has turned the Dostoyevsky figure (Alexei) into a middle-aged painter named Lionel who lives with his former girl friend, a young painter named Paulette. Changing the characters from writers to painters allows the film to present their work visually and to use the New York art world as a setting. Lionel, according to the screenplay, can't work unless he is miserably in love. By the end of the film he is so miserable that he has his own gallery show. The film also features long-haired youths, and a telephone-answering machine. What if the movie sparks off a new wave of demonstrations, this time with the slogan "Hands off Dostoyevsky"?

* * *

The Nevada Supreme Court has decided that a suit can proceed against the British Heavy metal band Judas Priest due to the alleged effect of its music. In the photograph are members of the group **K.K. Downing and Rob Halford.**

Late last year, after listening to the band's album "Stained Class" for six hours at a stretch, Raymond Belnap, 18, and Jamese Vance, 21, shot themselves in a Reno churchyard, Belnap fatally.

The suit, brought by the men's parents, alleges that Judas Priest mesmerized the pair, and the band's lyrics brought on the suicide attempts...

It is the second such lawsuit. The first linked a suicide to Ozzy Osbourne's "Suicide Solution" (which inveighs against self-destruction through drug and alcohol abuse), and was thrown out of Los Angeles Superior Court in 1986 because the judge ruled that the song was entitled to protection under the First Amendment.

Experts usually cite depression, drug and alcohol abuse and the availability of firearms as causes contributing to

teenage suicide. But many parents believe that rock music can kill and are calling for bans. The lawyers of Judas Priest and other bands point out, however, that using that criterion would mean censoring most prime-time television, plenty of movies and just about every newspaper, since some studies have shown that news reports of suicides tend to trigger copycat attempts. Hamlet wondered whether "to be or not to be." Is there a case against Shakespeare?

Experts specializing in youth problems tell parents not to be too quick to condemn them but to try to find out what it is in the songs of bands that gets them, and why heavy metal has such a hold on them.

* * *

"Art should be international," thinks **Andy Luotto,** Italy's most popular comic actor, who has recently visited our country. Andy is a living example of "internationalism" – of Italian origin, he was born and grew up in the United States. Though a U.S. citizen, he enjoys his greatest success on the Apennine peninsula, where his family lives. "I became a comedian because I love people. And sometimes they need honesty in art."

Luotto has tried his hand at many things in the course of his life. He started working at the age of fifteen, recording the sound for Italian actors taking part in Hollywood films; then he became a street musician and did wire dancing. When the war in Vietnam started, he refused to go and left for Italy.

"On finding myself in Europe," Luotto recalls, "I understood I had to change my style but didn't know how to do it. I wanted to be an actor,

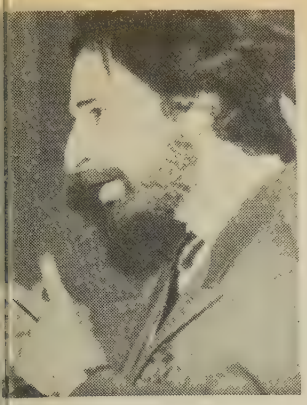
Ambassador of glasnost

"The new Soviet diplomacy of glasnost has arrived in Nicaragua," is how the Western media responded when the new Soviet ambassador **Valery Nikolayenko** appeared in Managua. Journalists point out that he is a good mixer, and conversationalist with a sense of humour and charisma.

Valery Nikolayenko, 47, is a native of Moscow, a career diplomat. A graduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, in the mid-1960s he worked at the Soviet embassy in Cuba, from 1969 to 1974 in Mexico and from 1975 to 1979 in the U.S. Back in Moscow, he continued his work in the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry's Department

of Latin American Countries holding different posts, among them head of the Latin American sector; in 1981 he was promoted to the position of the deputy head of department. In 1987 Valery Nikolayenko was appointed ambassador to Colombia, and in Septembe 1988 ambassador to Nicaragu

At a press conference o his arrival in Nicaragu Nikolayenko, a candidate sciences (history), amaze Western journalists with h expertise, his fluency Spanish, English and Frenc and his fine appreciation of th problems of the region and th country. He answered th most embarrassing question including those on arms d liveries, the size of Sovi economic aid and the Sovi attitude to negotiations be ween Managua and the co tras. "We have absolutely r need or desire to turn our pr sence in Central America in something threatening," h said. "Nowadays things a done less and less secretivel We have nothing to hide Nicaragua."



ut an unusual, unorthodox ctor... My money ran out and had to sell plastic bags in the treets. To boost my sales I evised a whole buffoonery erformance with facial con-rtions, singing and tight pewalking. So I found my e and was soon discovered y people from the film indus-y."

Andy Luotto is full of new ideas. He is thinking of making a new comedy film, to be shot on location in the U.S.S.R. He also wants to do a Soviet-Italian comic duet with Yefim Shifrin as his partner.

* * *

Yuri Mamin, a director from Leningrad, is a new star of Soviet cinema. His first film "The Festival of Neptune," proved a great success and was seen as revival of true comedy film. The kind of comedy, though, that is not very current in this country, comedy of a satirical type – no stunts, no clowning, but making its point by means of an accurate and candid exposure of social conflicts.

Mamin became a film director at 42. Prior to that he had graduated from a music

school with a diploma in stage directing, and worked in provincial theatres. Then he decided to take the special film directors' course attached to the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography. He found himself in the class led by Eldar Ryazanov.

Recently at Lenfilm Studios Mamim finished work on his new comedy film "The Fountain."

The film was first shown at the Golden Duke Festival in Odessa and was a great success. The motion picture won first prize, which Mamin received from his mentor Eldar Ryazanov, the chairman of the jury. This award was accompanied by the critics' prize and the spectators' prize. As a critic quipped, "Odessa mama will soon be called Odessa Mamin."

Now Yuri Mamin is working on a new film based on a screenplay by V. Leikin. It is called "The Sideburns."

* * *

Sports coaches frown on love, and with good reason: it can often wreak havoc on an athlete's training and concentration. The latest to fall victim to Cupid's dart is 25-year-old **Onokuni,** one of Japan's top sumo wrestlers, who tips the sacales at an awesome 203 kilogrammes, which is very important for a sumo wrestler.

The petite object of his affections is 25-year-old **Fujisaku Noriko.** A trained nutritionist who weighs all of 45 kilogrammes, she is appalled at her man's steady diet of sumo stew. Still, after a nine-year courtship, love won through. He popped the question to her after his promotion to the rank of grand champion. Unfortunately soon afterwards he hit a streak of bad luck, losing four matches in the latest fifteen-day tournament. As the magazine Asia week put it, no one ever said the path of true love was smooth...

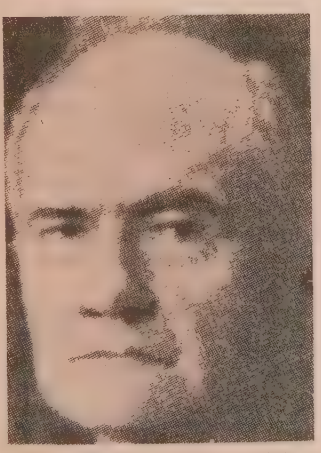
* * *

three-star politician

The appointment of utenant General (Ret.) **ent Scowcroft** as national curity adviser to the U.S. esident-elect made news, ough not sensational.

The general is known to ave advised George Bush on ore than one occasion in the urse of the election campaign. Nor was their long-anding acquaintance a secret. They were close associates when Bush was Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and Scowcroft as serving as national security adviser to President Ford.

Scowcroft has a reputation is a realist and a "sage" capable of finding a way out of olitical deadlocks. It is he ho is credited with "rescuing" many top people from the hirlwind of the Iran-contras candal: the general sits on he Tower Commission, which nvestigated the affair. Introducing him, Bush described im as a good specialist on oreign policy and defence, tressing that the general had



had exprience in this field "on a two-party basis." To all appearances, Bush intends to exploit this particular factor in pushing White House initiatives through Democrat-dominated Congress.

One more important feature of the general's previous record is "his experience in communicating with the Russians." Scowcroft played an active part in elaborating the Soviet-American documents on strategic arms limitation, including the ABM treaty. During all these years Scowcroft has been in favour of the "narrow" interpretation of the treaty and an opponent of SDI. He has not changed his mind now, regarding the programme as loss-making and inefficient.

The 63-year-old general, an ex-USAF pilot and a West Point graduate, belongs to the class of military who have taken up politics upon retirement.

A holder of a doctoral degree, he has carried out research and taught political science (including Russian history) in various military academies and universities. His connections in academic circles – he is member of several academic politological associations and sits on the Council on Foreign Relations, an organization that integrates many prominent scholars studying international relations – should presumably help George Bush form a solid and efficient "brains trust."

Rostislav Zolotarev

Xian humorists

They take joking seriously

Sergei Toroptsev

I had never been caught in such thick milky fog. Driving along the road, unable to see anything in front, behind or on either side, we cautiously descended into the hoary past. The environs of Xian, a town on the approaches to north-western China, is a virtual treasure trove of antiquity. A whole forest of steles, with the elegantly engraved apothegms of sages on the old stones; the cold, overwhelming tomb of the Emperor Qin Shihuang; the delicately designed bath-house of the medieval beauty Yang Guifei; her grave, which has been emanating a sweet fragrance for over a thousand years, is a mystery that inspires such divine trepidation that people had begun to take earth from the grave, and the authorities had to protect it with a stone covering... The strange "yellow soil" (the loess plateau) all punctuated with burial mounds up to six thousand years old.

The fact that their history goes back millennia, fills the hearts of local people with pride. So that could be the reason why, in answering my question as to whether the locals felt their "provinciality," Li Sihai of the Institute of Art Studies, specialist on aesthetics and the Russian language and a translator of scientific literature and fiction (as well as being my faithful guide), gave an emphatic No. Yet it is fifteen hours by train from Beijing to Xian.

Taking their remoteness for granted, Chinese localities manage as a rule to shed the features of provinciality, and are distinguished by their reluctance to imitate and adapt to the ways of the far-off capital; on the contrary, they cherish and treasure their uniqueness, which is rooted in the hoary past. Now in the mainstream of the tendency towards increased and consolidated economic independence for each region, there is no need at all to act with an eye to the central authorities, the more so as their control is becoming less and less rigorous.

The Institute of Art Studies belongs to those who have audaciously broken the bind of geographical and social provinciality.

The car passes through the gates of, of all things, a circus, winds about the lanes inside and comes to a standstill near the practice arena. It is here that the future centre, leasing the first and third floors of the circus hostel, found shelter. So far, just the Shenxi Art Studies Institute, developed seven years ago on the basis of the local repertory office. No central heating (though it can snow in winter), working conditions a far cry from those in the capital, dusty-grey iron stoves with the stove pipes sticking out of openings in the window panes. Coal briquettes are stored, but I am under the impression that these iron stoves are infrequently stoked. Warmth comes for the most part form tea (or just boiled water contained in thermos flasks – a sine qua non with the Chinese) which encourages the exchange of ideas, or from the debates which are at times very heated.

The staff, however, complain of the absence of audio-visual equipment as the main hindrance to their work. That only serves to demonstrate their modern approach to research and the competence of the personnel working in the five sections of the Institute, studying problems of theatre, cinema, painting, music, choreography and the general aesthetics of art.

Soviet classics of the comic, Ilf and Petrov, on the pages of the Xiju Shijie

The tiny director's office will never do to accommodate a meeting of any size, even considering the staff of a mere fifty researchers at the Institute. The director, Chen Xiaoying, crackles with energy, a rare combination of scientist and manager, with a strong inclination to research and a hunger for administrative change. A compactly-built man of medium height in his late forties, Chen Xiaoying is a constant generator of new ideas and plans, always in action, as if some inner "perpetuum mobile" will not allow him to stop.

He says: "Get me Borev's book, 'The Comical,' and don't confuse it with 'On the Comical,' which has already been translated and is about to appear" (Yuri Borev is an author who is admired here; among others on the list who have been or are going to be printed are such Soviet works as the collection "The Humour of Zoshchenko," "The Mystery of Art" by Sergei Petrov, and studies by Georgy Fridlender, Yakov Elsberg and others).

In the rare moments when he is not working, Chen Xiaoying likes to sing or draw, both of which he does fairly well. Busy persons gathering at lavish dinners (a familiar form of get-together in China where people can talk seriously) are relaxed by his inspired toasts, which are full of humour but spoken with a poker face (a barely perceptible spark of facetiousness lurking behind his glasses). He himself, however, claims vociferously that there is "no sense of humour" in his make-up which is, I think, a fib of the kind to which he is naturally inclined. His life is a sort of "long-distance run" without a minute of quiet and rest. Nonetheless, he is a cheerful man with an outlook on life that is full of humour.

Chen Xiaoying's attitude towards everything but humour itself, since humour is the principal object of his passion, is that of scholar and administrator. "This man," his colleagues go on record as saying, "has joined the ranks of treasure-hunters for the

esthetics of the comic."

His visiting card informs us that he is hairman of the Society for Studying the esthetics of the Comic, Director of the henxi Art Studies Institute, Editor-in-hief of the magazine Xiju Shijie (Comic orld).

The magazine is the realization of his ng-standing personal idea. "It opens o," the editor's message goes, "the orld of comedy, the world of humour as ell as the world of beauty and the world wisdom." Born in 1988, the Year of the ragon, the magazine will appeal both to "national and an international" reader-hip. Its editor-in-chief has this to say to e public: "In China 'things comical' ave suffered a tragic fate... I don't know hen it all started, but people are accus-omed to looking on anything funny as ase. In our magazine I dream of combin-g 'the comic' with 'the aesthetic,' refin-g the comic to an artistic level and br-ging it home to the poor." Though the agazine is established as a publication Shenxi province, it enlists the coopera-on of some figures of nationwide impor-ance, and visiting editors from abroad, mong them scholars from Hong Kong, elgium, Canada and the Soviet Union. he well-known writer, the Minister of ulture, Wang Meng (incidentally, also n object" of Chen's scholarly interests), ontributed an article to the opening sue with his reflections on the comic.

"A Brief History of Chinese Humour," On the Aesthetic Features of the omic," "The Comic Art in the Contem-orary World," "The Art of Comedy in ontemporary China," "On the Comic tyle of Sholokhov"... are just a few titles rom the list of almost two hundred of hen Xiaoying's publications, put out ver thirty years of creative work and hich he gave me on one Xian evening. hen still at school he began writing tories and essays followed a few years ater by translations from Russian (the anguage of Gogol and Saltykov-hchedrin is always on the tip of his ton-gue), and literary criticism, frequently rec-ognized with regional and nationwide rizes, among them the article "On Humour in Wang Meng's Prose."

This particular article, printed five years ago in a central magazine, brought us to-gether, albeit by correspondence. The ar-icle led me to discuss some of its points. For instance, the argument that the humorous colouring of the writer's style was mainly due to his natural inclination to humour, seemed tenuous to me. Wang Meng's dramatic story, "The Kite and the Ribbon" (in Russian it is available in Inos-trannaya Literatura, issue 9, 1986) can hardly be described as humorous, though there is an element of humour in it. But on the whole Chen Xiaoying's publi-cation proved a fine, sound work which accurately perceived in Wang Men's humour a compensation for the people's sufferings from the leftist past and showed that a smile (sarcastic, bitter and of other colourings) could appear in places where other Chinese writers would presumably have used the more customary pathos. Moreover, the author of the article broke new ground and de-monstrated his intention to pursue a sys-tematic study of the comic in Chinese culture. He returned to it afterwards, going all the way step by step, despite his restless nature which drove him to take up too many projects.

Two aspects of his study of the comic deserve the closest attention. First, he submerges individual problems in gen-eral theory. Referring to the works of foreign writers, Chen Xiaoying applies them to the national environment, thus raising the level of Chinese theory to world standards. Second, there is a spe-cial emphasis on national humour. Chen Xiaoying's studies, a critic in the prestigi-ous Chinese magazine Dangdai wenyi tansuo points out, "refute the views of those who thought that China was devoid of humour." After careful comparison it turned out that the ancient Chinese poet-ical canon "Shijing," whose verse spark-les with satire, is contemporary with the comedies of Aristophanes, and theatrical divertissement dates three centuries further into antiquity than in Greece. So-called "pockets" (a literal translation of the technical Chinese term which in the traditional theory of the comic means the layer of fun proper), which for the most part saturate conversational interludes, in such traits as inner freedom, paradox and contrast compete, Chen Xiaoying main-tains, with European and American "black humour." In his opinion, the princi-pal distinguishing feature of Chinese humour is "the dialectic of the implied and the stated," with the prevalence of the latter.

It was Chen Xiaoying who suggested I take part in an international conference on the art of cinema in Guangzhou in the south of China. Financial problems, how-ever, frustrated a full-scale international meeting. Yet it was not a purely national gathering, since there were some guests from Hong Kong and even Taiwan, the latter attending a cultural event in the P.R.C. for the first time, and myself who, though not formally but as a probationer at the Beijing Cinema Art Institute, nonetheless represented the Soviet Union. At the dinner given in honour of us four foreigners by the Rector of the Southern Chinese Pedagogical Univer-sity, shelling the claws of huge crabs, a rarity even in this maritime city, we talked about how important it was to give atten-tion to the three parallel Chinese cultural trends from the P.R.C., Hong Kong and Taiwan, which have a common source but in the process of their historical de-velopment have evolved their own dis-tinctive features.

As a result, we had in Guangzhou the Third All-Chinese Symposium on the Aesthetics of the Comic. The two previ-ous meetings had been held in 1985 and 1986 in Shenxi province, which, as we see, had long been at the forefront of the campaign to clean out these "Augean st-ables," as Chen Xiaoying described the problems realting to the aesthetics of the comic in China. He cochaired the organi-zational committee and chaired the presi-dium of the symposium. I took along the film, "The Festival of Neptune" (thanks to our embassy in Beijing, though it too would like to have more good Soviet films), and it did not pass unnoticed among pictures from America, France, Yugoslavia, Hong Kong, Taiwan and the P.R.C., all lavishly shown to the dele-gates. This time comedy films were at the centre of attention.

Of course, the humid 35 degrees Cen-tigrade with which Guangzhou wel-comed us in early May is not the best cli-mate for scholarly debates. The heat, though, was mitigated by the air-condi-tioning in the conference hall of the Southern Chinese Pedagogical Univer-sity. But how would you like the following timetable: from half past eight in the morning to half past twelve you are in conference, from half past three there is another conference lasting three hours, after supper film showings, not for the sake of recreation but for further discus-sion. Naturally, programmes are not in-flexible; there were some modifications and delays, but on the whole it was de-manding intellectual work.

We argued ourselves hoarse about film comedies, standards of entertainment, the ratio of ideas to form, the films them-selves: Zhang Gang's farces, which have borrowed much from popular Chinese satirical pieces, with their devil-may-care deliberate crudeness and vulgarity; the more restrained, academic comedy by Li Xin, "To Die and Return"; thrillers about vampires from Hong Kong and Taiwan...

Once in the evening film director Zhang Gang, who also participated in the sym-posium, invited us to watch his new pic-ture. A mass of dark-haired students surged before the white cloth pinned to bamboo poles. The audience roared when the film director approached the mic-rophone. He spoke about his character Aman, a young man concerned only with his own well-being and his own peace without caring a bit for other people. In dif-ferent films he assumes different appear-ances without changing his inherent vul-garity. "Who is Aman?" inquires the direc-tor. "I am still in search of him." Aman is a social phenomenon he has exposed.

The swift southern night was not long in coming, and to the accompaniment of a roar of laughter the cold-blooded egotist began his adventures. To be frank, I did not like the fact that the director tried to pander to the tastes of the audience rather than to elevate them to new aesthetic levels. But you should have seen how the audience enjoyed it. They liked it, and this phenome-non must be analyzed, which was pre-cisely the topic of our discussion during the final session.

The Xian humorists have started work on a serious undertaking. Let us wish them luck!

The gramophone disc a century old

21 firms from Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, India and Finland participated in the first International Gramophone Record Fair in Moscow

A century has pased since the German engineer Emile Berliner produced the world's first gramophone record. The technology of production and the performance of the black discs have been substantially improved, though the record itself still looks very much the same as it did a hundred years ago. About two billion records are produced in the world annually. The Soviet Union's output is about 200 million records a year. The overall output is considerable by international standards. However, the quality of Soviet-made records allows no hope of leading the field. "We have attempted to discuss trade perspectives for the coming year with the representatives of socialist countries," says Valery Sukhorado, Director-General of the record-producing firm Melodia. "Perestroika has made it possible for us to develop direct contacts with foreign firms. Until now all Melodia's external economic activities had to be supervised by the foreign trade association Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, which inevitably hindered the process."

The contemporary world is extremely interested in Soviet music. Russia has given the world such outstanding composers as Tchaikovsky, Shostakovich, Prokofiev, and such performers as Richter and Kogan. In this field our authority is not in doubt. When it comes to rock music, however, its existence was for a long time refused official recognition. The now famous Aquarium, Alisa, DDT and other rock groups had to perform semi-legally with recordings being made and copied at home by enthusiasts.

Soviet rock music is arousing a great deal of interest not only in this country but in the West as well. However, the first Soviet-made Aquarium LP was only brought out after a similar record had been released in the U.S. At the beginning of October the Ministry of Culture, the U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency and the experimental drama studio Muzyka sponsored a pop music festival attended by pop groups from all over the country. The U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency (VAAP) extended invitations to the largest Western music firms such as MIDEM, GBS, Dischi Ricordi, Polarvox oy and others. For many the festival was like striking gold in show biz. In December Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, in conjunction with the Gallery artistic association, arranged the Interchance festival, also attended by leading firms in the record business.

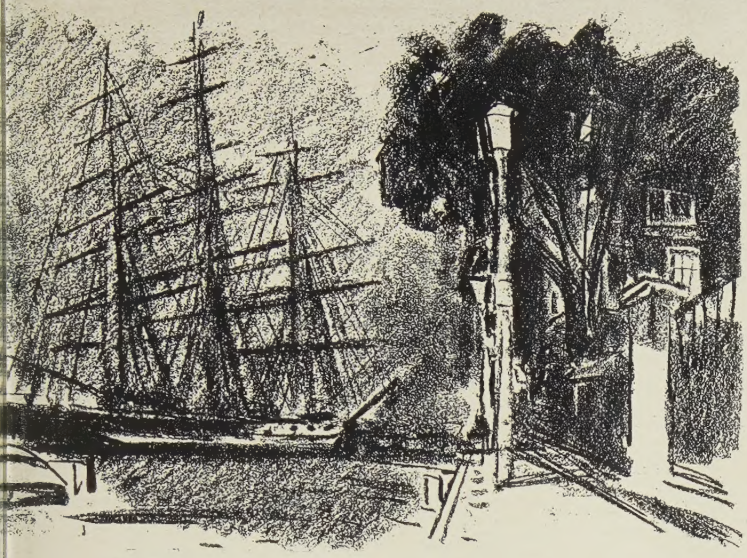
Only professionals were allowed to compete at the VAAP festival, whereas the concerts at the December festival are open to everyone who has succeeded in presenting an interesting recording – professionals and amateurs, famous groups and beginners alike. "Of course, some of the interest in Soviet rock can be accounted for by the immense popularity of everything Soviet in the West today," says Leena Juuranto, managing director of Polarvox oy, one of Scandinavia's largest record-producing firms, "but this is not the only reason. Soviet rock still remembers one thing that has been completely lost in the West – melody." Incidentally, Polarvox oy was the first Western firm to record a Soviet rock group. Leena Juuranto's favourite is the Moscow group Va-Bank, directed by Alexander Sklyar. In line with international practice, the group will be touring Scandinavia at the time when their record is released there. "What we need is a complete success," says Leena Juuranto. "That is why the tour will not begin before the group's videoclips, posters and other ads are ready.

Unfortunately the quality of Soviet-made records still leaves much to be desired. "I hate to admit it," noted Valery Sukhorado, "but neither presses nor recording equipment for studios are produced in this country. It is very difficult to upgrade the industry. We need a radically improved material base. At the moment the construction of a new studio is under way. In conjunction with Phillips we are building a factory for the production of compact discs (in this branch particularly we are falling behind – almost every socialist country participating in the fair showed compact discs); Melodia is building its own international hotel. Our staff are learning foreign languages, and studying international trade and the situation on the world market."

Melodia will go on with the first attempts to produce joint recordings of Soviet and foreign singers (as, for example, the Pugacheva-Lindenberg album). Soviet studios will start recording Western singers with exclusive rights to sales in socialist countries. In this case we won't have to buy licences for hard currency, but will on the contrary, start earning it. Bob Joy from the U.S. has already made his Melodia debut. Very soon Melodia, in cooperation with the Greenpeace International Corp., will bring out a double album of 25 world rock stars.

So far, Meloldia's leadership has refused to give details of the results of the fair. Well, we shall be able to judge how things are going from the state of the shelves in records shops.

Erkin Tuzmukhamedov



From the British album

Pavel Bunin is known as a brilliant book illustrator. Unlike many of his colleagues, he always takes his sketchbook along on his travels, and has made a daily practice of drawing from life, which largely accounts for his polished technique. In his drawings, marked by keen power of observation, he seeks not merely to convey a fleeting impression of the scenes and objects he depicts, but to honestly show them for what they really are. This explains why his art has found an appreciative audience.

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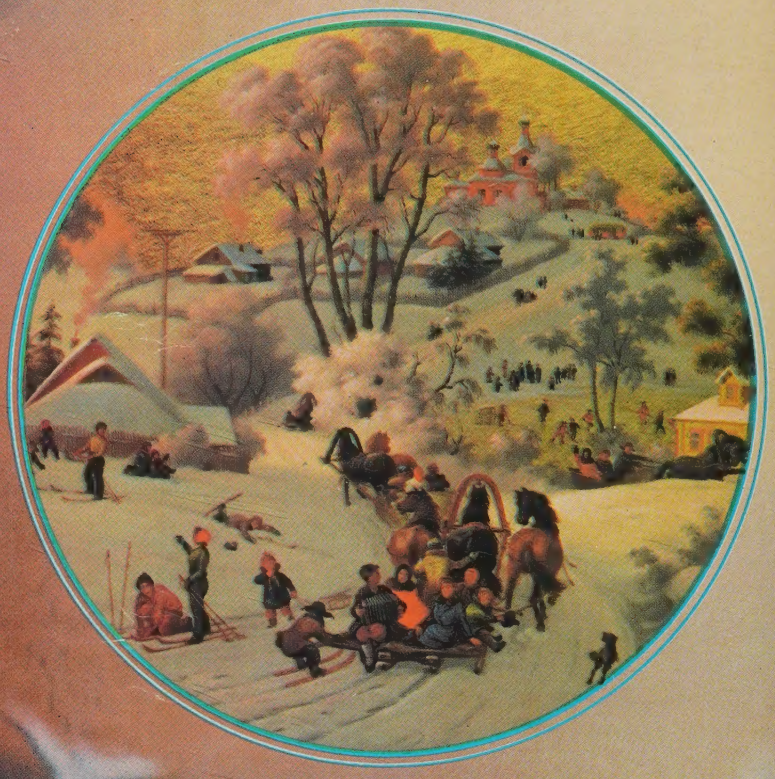

Featuring the best in Soviet multinational art: drama companies, symphony and variety orchestras, pop groups, professional and amateur song and dance ensembles. The Festival is to be held in Moscow on December 25 through January 5.

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